

A Compendious

# HISTORY

*Alexander* Of all the *Lauder. v. 109.*

POPISH & FANATICAL

Plots and Conspiracies

AGAINST

The Established Government

IN

CHURCH & STATE,

In *England, Scotland, and Ireland:*

From the first year of *Qu. Eliz.* Reign,  
to this present year 1684.

With Seasonable Remarks.

---

By *Tho. Long*, one of the Prebendaries of *Exon.*

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*Isai. 9. 19, &c.* Through the wrath of the Lord of Hosts  
is the land darkened, and the people shall be as the  
fuel of the fire: no man shall spare his brother.---  
They eat every man the flesh of his own arm: *Ma-*  
*nassch, Ephraim; and Ephraim, Manassch:* and  
they together shall be against *Judah.*

*Tunc inter se concordant mali, cum in perniciem justi con-*  
*spirant; non quia se amant, sed quia eum qui amandus*  
*erat simul oderint. S. Aug. in Psal. 36. Conc. 2.*

---

*London:* Printed for *D. Brown*, at the Black Swan and  
Bible without *Temple-bar*, and *T. Goodwin* at the  
*Maidenhead* against *St. Dunstons Church.* 1684.

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CONFIDENTIAL

in England, Scotland, and Wales;

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James H. McGraw, Jr.

by the abundance of food.

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Main street facing St. David's Church, 1884.  
 Little white 7 foot-6-in. and 7 foot-11-in. in the  
 garden: planted for D. Gray, in the Black Swan and



T O

The most Reverend Father in God,

**W I L L I A M**

By Divine Providence

**L<sup>d</sup> Archbishop of Canterbury**

HIS GRACE,

Primate of all *England*, and Metropolitan, and  
one of his Majesties most Hon<sup>ble</sup> Privy-Council, &c.

*May it please your Grace.*

**I** Have learned long since not to  
*appear empty before the Lord,*  
nor without an *Offering* be-  
fore so immediate a *Minister*  
of God. This therefore (such  
as it is) I humbly devote to the ser-  
vice of the *Church of God* as it is e-  
stablished among us : which contains  
a *Vindication* as well of the *Head* as  
*Chief Members* of Church and State  
from the *scandalous imputation of Po-*  
*pery*, and charge of the *same* upon  
their *Accusers*, in an impartial relati-  
on of *matters of fact*.

It is I confess one of the *meanest*,

A 2

yet

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yet a very necessary Work, to remove those *Stumbling-blocks* and *heaps of Uncleanneſſ* which men of perverſe minds have laid to obſtruct the People's entrance to our Church: among which, none hath given greater offence than the clamour of *Popery* and *Idolatry*. Come to the *Presbyterian Clergie* (ſays the *L. C. J. Hales* in a Pamphlet lately published by *R. B. D. B.*) and they will tell you that *Episcopal Government* is *Romiſh* and *Superſtitious*, and their *Ceremonies* and *Uſages* *Antichriſtian*. Yea they will come to the People, and tell them, (without asking) that the *Royal Martyr* was the *Head of the Grotian Religion* (i. e.) of *Popery*: That your *Reverend and Religious Predeceſſor* *Archbiſhop Laud* laboured to introduce *Popery* (though he were in truth the *greateſt Scourge* and *Horror* to that *Party*.) The *Great Earl of Strafford*, and the *Learned Dr. Conſin*, were  
pro-

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proclaimed and persecuted as *Papists*, though living and dying they gave Demonstrations to the contrary.

And evident it is, that these false Suggestions were really and purposefully intended and fomented, to animate the people, and actually engage them in one of the most horrid *Rebellions* that ever was acted by any barbarous people. Yet is this *Outcry* renewed, and to the same mischievous intent, as is acknowledged by *Hollomay*; That the general designe in which he engaged, was to get off the King from his evil Counsel who had advised him to put a stop to the proceedings against the *Popish Plotters*: That it was reported in all parts that *Arbitrary Government* and *Popery* were coming in apace, which incensed the common people in all parts, and made such a grumbling, that we feared longer delays would make them mutiny. (This in his Paper to the King.) And in that to the Sheriffs,

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riffs, He was fully perswaded that not only Popery, but Arbitrary Government was intended, and that he believed many thousands in the Nation would have appeared on these reasons. And in this he persisted at his Execution, telling the Sheriffs, That it was feared that Arbitrary Government and Popery was designed; and truly I think at this present, by what I can understand, that there is little better designed. Thus the present Government is newly dressed up in the old Rags of Popery, as the Primitive Christians were in Beast skins, to expose them to the rage of the people.

W. J. in his *Celeusma* accuseth many of the Conforming Clergy to be *specie duntaxat Protestantes*, and that they do *supparisitare Pelagio-Socino*, *sed imprimis Papæ & Papismo*; though it be no less than a contradiction, that they should be at the same time, *Socinians* and *Papists*. And still the

Cry

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Cry is carried on, That our Hierarchy is *Antichristian*, and that we have scarce two or three *Protestant Bishops* in our Communion: That the Clergy is *Popishly affected*, and are *Pro-Clars for Rome*: That our Church hath made many steps to *Popery*: That our Liturgy is the *Mass in English*, and the Litany a *Popish Conjurat[i]on*.

From these malevolent Suggestions it is, that the credulous people are not onely affrighted from our Communion, as if our Temples (like those of the *Egyptians*) were filled with *Serpents and Crocodiles*; but are driven into *Sedition, Conspiracies, and Rebellion*, and into many *inextricable Errours*, and hurried from one *Seet* and *Heresie* to another, till they fall into that common Sink of *Quakerism*, which is a compound of the dregs of *Popery and Fanaticism*.

There seems to be (and God be thanked for it) a general *abhorrence*

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of Idolatry and Popery in the hearts of the people: but that the established Church is guilty of these Abominations, is the malicious insinuation of unreasonablen and malicious men, who seek to rise themselves upon its ruine. And with such invincible prejudices are the minds of too many possessed, that they are deaf to all Arguments and Demonstrations to the contrary: they are as secure, as if they had been taught by an Oracle: since Mr. Calkin (as Gratius, p. 115. of his *Katumpha Piece*) (observed, *Illam institutionem qua Buceri consilio in Anglia erat instituta Papismi accusavit: and T. C. taught, That they ought rather to conform themselves in Orders and Ceremonies to the fashion of the Turks than the Papists.* (See p. 27. of the *Confession at Hampton Court.*) And the Popery which is now so vehemently opposed, is that which our Dissenters conceive to be practised in the established Church. A But

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But the inconsiderate *Multitude* will not perceive, that while they are affrighted by such *Shades* and *Apparitions* from the Communion of our Church, they do really embrace the most dangerous and distinguishing *Articles* and *Principles* of the *Romanists*. They do as verily believe that the *Presbytery* or the *People* have a *Supreme Power* over the *Chief Magistrate*, as the *Papists* affirm the *Pope* to have. And as he challengeth the *Keys* and *Sword* of *St. Peter*, so do they the *Crown* and *Scepter* of *Christ*, (for so they stick not to call their *Discipline*) to which all *Powers* on Earth must *bow* or *be broken*. And their *Practice* hath been agreeable to these *Principles*: for from hence that *damnable Doctrine* (as *St. Paul* calls it) of *resisting* the lawful *Powers*, and the practices of *open Rebellion* and *secret Conspiracies*, have been of late days as frequent among *Fanaticks* as among the

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*Papists.* And they presume to *Canonize* those that perish in *Rebellion* as *Saints* and *Martyrs*, as the *Pope* himself hath done by *Thomas Becket* and *Father Garnet*. Nor hath any *General* or *Provincial* of the *Jesuits* exacted a more *blind obedience*, or usurped a more *uncontroulable power* over the *Consciences* of their *Profelytes* and *Emillaries*, than some of these have done. So that indeed, many of their *Principles* and *Practices* are but *old Popery* in the *new dresse* of *Presbytery*, as they have been formerly *parallel'd* by some of their *Independent Brethren*, out of their own *Books of Discipline*.

Nor yet will their *Leaders* seem sensible of the *pestilent effects* of *scandalizing* the established *Government* with the *growth of Popery*; when their own *Disciples*, having pluckt their *Spectacles* from their noses, can as plainly discern *Popery* not onely in  
their



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their *Ministry*, and *Discipline*, and in every thing that they retained for *Order* and *Decency*, but in their *Sabbaths* and *Sacraments*, in their very *Doctrines* of *Repentance* and *good works*, and in that of the *blessed Trinity* it self : all which have been ridicul'd as *Popish* by some that pass for true *Protestants*. But in all their *Calumnies* our Adversaries meet with the same fate and infatuation as other false Accusers of innocent persons commonly do ; their very *Charge* carrieth a *Confutation* with it ; being laid against those who have given the plainest demonstrations of their *detestation* of *Popery*, and have acted most *rational-ly* *successfully* against it ; while the *Informers* are notoriously known to agree in the *same Principles*, and to conspire in the *same Practices*, as the *Papists* do, for the destruction of that *Church* which hath been acknowledged by all sober *Protestants*, and  
dreaded

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dreaded by the *Papists* as their most formidable Enemy.

The *Jesuits* and *Dissenters* have so long contrived and communicated *politick Maximes* and *Counsels* for the subversion of our Establishment, and confederated in practices tending to that end, that it is hard to determine whether there be now more *Fanaticism* among the *Jesuits*, or more *Jesuitism* among the *Fanaticks*: As in the story of two famous Brothers, the one a *Jesuit*, the other a *Calvinist*; who disputed so plausibly and successfully for their *Opinions*, that the *Calvinist* was perswaded to embrace *Popery*, and the *Papist* to espouse *Calvinism*: and yet they were Brethren still. And if such persons as act to the same end, and use the same means, are equally criminal, I know not how to make a distinction where I see no real difference. Certain it is, that as *Fanaticism* could never  
have

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have grown to so great a bulk among us, if it had not been nourished by *Popery*; so *Popery* would have been extremely weak and languishing, if it had not been encouraged and animated by *Fanaticism*. No other Artifice could have made the *Popish Plot* to be suspected of a *Sham* (as some have called it) but that *Conspiracy* of some which call themselves *true Protestants*, but have served the *Roman Cause* and *Interest* more advantageously than all their own *Consults* and *Confederacies* have done.

I should not have presumed to dedicate this Treatise to your Grace, had it been a *Novel* or *Private Opinion*, and not the *deliberate Sense* and *constant Judgment* of the *Government*, as well as the *Practice* of the *Factions* ever since the first conception of the *Reformation*. King Henry the Eighth observed, that the new *Sumpsinus* was as busie to stifle it  
be-

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before it came to its birth, as the *old Mumpsimus* was. And in *succeeding times*, the Government had as watchful and jealous an eye, and carried as strict a hand over the *one Faction* as over the *other* ; restraining them by the *same Laws*, and executing the *same Penalties* on both ; as appears by those wholesome Statutes made in *Q. Eliz.* to retain her Majesties Subjects in due Obedience ; which have been ever interpreted by the *wise Judges* and *common Practice* of the Nation, equally to concern *Dissenters* of all sorts. It therefore seems an *unaccountable Error* in them who profess a *detestation* of *Popery* , to attempt the *abrogation* of those Laws ( especially if (as the *Dissenters* affirm) *they were intended chiefly against the Papists* ) as being a *Grievance* to his Majesties *Protestant Subjects*, and an *incouragement* to *Popery* : when in all probability, the *Popish Conventicles* would have been

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as frequent as those of the *Dissenters*, had those *Laws* and *Sanctions* been *anulled* : and in such a juncture of *time* and *circumstances*, the wisest consult of the *Jesuits* could not have contrived a more probable means to gratifie their *Party*, and advance their *Interest*, than by such a designe. Nor hath this been the *first* joynt attempt of the two *Factions* to procure a *Toleration* for *each other* ; it being the readiest way to destroy the established Church, as the Letters of Mr. *Coleman* and his *endeavours* did intimate.

I fear I have transgressed the bounds of *Modesty*, as well as of an *Epistle Dedicatory* to a Person on whom the management of so many *great* and *publick affairs* is incumbent. But I held it my bounden duty to make a publick acknowledgment of your Graces unparallel'd favour to a person of such an *inferiour Rank*, of so *mean capacities*, and at such a re-  
mote

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more distance from your Grace. And for this and my former weaknesses, I most humbly importune your Graces Pardon, as I do also for the mistakes of the following Treatise; which being intended to stop the mouths of such as maliciously accuse their Fathers and Brethren, and to open the eyes of such as are ignorantly seduc'd by them, that by plucking out (if it be possible) the beam that is in their own eyes, they may cleerly perceive that there is not a mote of what they falsely forged or fondly fancied to be in their Brothers eye. And I hope I have not hereby forfeited the reputation or priviledge of subscribing my self,

Exam. May 16.

Your Graces most humble  
and  
most obliged Servant,

THO. LONG.

# T H E INTRODUCTION.



THE Church of *England* may justly complain in the like words as *Erasmus*, Ad Episc. Roffensem: (*Triplex sustineo certamen; cum Paganis illis Romanensibus, qui me miserè invident; cum Theologis quibusdam & Monachis, qui nullum non movent lapidem ut me perdant; cum rabiosis quibusdam Lutheranis, qui in me fremunt quod unus (ut aiunt) remoror ipsorum triumphos. — Sic erat in fatis, ut hooætatis ex musico fierem gladiator.*) ‘ I labour  
‘ under a threefold conflict: 1. Against  
‘ those Pagan-Romanists, who miserably en-  
‘ vy me: 2. With some Jesuits, Priests, and  
‘ Monks, who move every stone to destroy  
‘ me: 3. With those implacable Sectaries  
‘ that think they can never rise but by my  
‘ ruine. By these means, my Harmony is  
‘ turn’d into Discord and Contention.

What good Protestant will not passionately condole with so *indulgent a Mother*, under

such cruel and *preternatural Agonies* ! That she, who first redeemed us from *POPERY*, *resisting even to Bloud*, and for a whole *Age* together (not without the immediate assistance of *Heaven* in time of necessity) defeated all the powerful and politick attempts of our implacable Enemies, should now be branded as *Popish*, and under that notion be betrayed to those *Romish Wolves* that watch to make a *Prey* of her, is a sad consideration: but that some of *her own Fold*, who wear the *Sheeps clothing*, should be made the Instruments of such *Cruelty*, is that which adds to the *Affliction* ! We were told indeed long since, That *England is a great Beast, that cannot die but of her self: our own Divisions* are the chief Stratagem by which our *Adversaries* promise themselves success; and we are become so *brutish*, as to be acted by them (to *bite and devour one another* ) who are ready to *swallow us up* all. It is to be wished, that as we deservedly *abhor* their *Practices*, so we would *renounce* their *Principles*; lest by espousing *these*, we grow big with the like *designs*, and give birth to that *Icabod*, which may shortly tell us, That *the Ark of God is taken*, and *the glory departed from our Israel*.

This *Confederacy* against the Church, is not from any *love* that the Enemies thereof bear to *each other*, but from an inveterate *hatred* of



of *her*, whom they ought to love. Thus *Herod* and *Pontius Pilate*, though *Enemies* to each other, acted *both* to the crucifying of our Saviour; though *Pilate* (when it was too late) would have washed his hands from that *innocent Blood*.

Though we did wantonly contend with one another about *trifles*, while our *common Mother* had some *authority* and *power* to prevent the mischief of such contentions; yet now, when our *all* is at stake, and *one Party* insolently claims her *Authority* for the *Pope*, for *the other* to withdraw their obedience, and expose her to the tyranny of them, who would destroy *both*, is such an *infatuation*, as presageth no less than our *common ruine*. The *Curse of Meroz* cannot be forgotten, nor could it be ever more innocently applied than now. And if *Amalek* and

the *Edomites* (professed *Enemies* to *Israel*) were accursed for their *cruelty* to the people of God in their *low estate*; much more do they deserve a *Curse*, that under a profession of *kindness*, watch opportunities to do *mischief*.

God makes *mans extremity*, his opportunity to shew mercy: it is the Devil that takes advantage of our *age* and *distempers*, to plunge us in *despair* and *confusion*. Say I this without a cause: or do not the *present actions* of

Deut. 25. 17. O-  
badiab, v. 10,  
&c.

too many, from whom we might justly expect *better things*, extort it from me? I appeal to the *impartial Reader* to judge between us. For when all our *united strength* (as we may justly fear) is *too little* to withstand our *common Enemy*; instead of *uniting*, I find too many endeavour to make the *Breach wider*, defaming that Church as *Popish*, whose ruine was chiefly designed by the *Papists*, as the most *formidable Enemy* they have in the world: many *Conformists* are condemned as *Socinians*, *Pelagians*, and *Popishly affected*; and now at length, there are so many *hainous sins* pretended to be in our *Conformity*, that the *Dis-senters* can by no means *conform*, because they *fear God*. And now also all those methods which prepared us for *Confusion* in 1642, are revived; our *Governours* in Church and State defamed as *Papists*, *Fears* and *Jealousies* increased, *seditious Petitions* framed, *Parties* engaged, factious and rebellious *Libels* scattered through the Nation, *Money* and *Arms* provided: They tell us in *print*, That *there wants onely some Chieftain to head the Party, and then hands to work*: And as it was in the beginning of the last War, so it will be now and ever.

The Preface to the *Covenant* expressly said, That *after other means of Supplication, Remonstrance, Protestation, &c. now at last they enter into a League and Covenant.* The

*The rude people (saith the Royal Martyr, in his Chap. of Tumults) are taught first to petition, then to protest, then to dictate, then to command. Having made their Conspiracy strong, by pretending to sacrifice in Conventicles at Hebron; reviving the old Covenant, and entring into new Associations, they were ready to execute secret Conspiracies, by a horrid Assassination of a most Religious and Gracious Prince, his Royal Brother, and chief Ministers in Church and State, and to overflow the Land with a second Deluge of Blood, by open Rebellion. And because (as the Royal Martyr observed) the Devil of Rebellion cannot succeed in his temptations, unless he be transformed into an Angel of light; all this must be carried on under a pretence of zeal against Popery; the Standard that is set up, bears this Motto, NO POPERY, NO TYRANNY; as if the Marian days were already returned, and the number of Protestant Martyrs had far exceeded that in the Reign of Q. Mary. Whereas the cry of No Popery, no Tyranny, is in plain English, No Bishop, no King. They are now grown more politick, or more confident, than to declare that they fight against those Shadows which were raised by their own Reflections on the Liturgie and Ceremonies; they contend for a more substantial Prize, the Crown and Mitre, Monarchy and*

*Episcopacy root and branch*; that their *Brambles* may be planted in that *rich Soil*, where the *Royal Oak* and the *fruitful Vine* have flourished, and spread their *Branches* to the *neighbouring Nations*, and *foreign Plantations*. For since the time of the *Reformation*, from the beginning of *Queen Elizabeth's* Reign, there hath not been such a *succession* of *Governours* and *religious Princes* in all *Christendom*. Yet are the *Subjects* still amused with the clamour of *Popery* and *Tyranny*; which is improved by an *opposite*, but as *dangerous a Faction*, for a more *successful management* of their own *mischievous designs*; not unlike to some *Beasts* and *Birds of Prey*, who to prevent the discovery and destruction of their *noxious brood*, lead men into distant parts from the place where they have laid their young.

What else is intended by the great noise of *Tyranny* and *Oppression* in the *State*, and *Popery* and *Superstition* in the *Church*, but to persuade the *People* of *approaching danger*, whence really there is *no present fear*, that they may with less suspicion bring their most *dreadful Machinations* to maturity? Hence it is, that all our *Worthy men* have been accounted *men Worthy of Death*; all our *Bishops*, two or three excepted, to be *Popishly affected*; the *Conforming Clergie*, a *Popish Cler-*

*Clergie*; and instead of *uniting our forces* against *Popish Conspirators*, as if that were indeed but a *Sham-plot*, those that call themselves true *Protestants*, have even exceeded and justified them in more *unnatural Associations* and *vile Confederacies*.

To stop the *mouths* of such *loud Calumniators*, or at least the *ears* of the People against their *loud Obloquies*, I have collected the ensuing *History*; which, if well considered, will abundantly evidence the *Sincerity* and *Constancy* of our *Princes* and *Governours* in the *Protestant Religion as by Law established*, ever since the *Reformation* in *Queen Elizabeth's* days; their *great care* not onely to preserve it at *home*, but to defend and propagate it *abroad*; and to be a *Refuge* and *Sanctuary* to such as have been persecuted for it in *foreign parts*: As also, the *Integrity* and *Ability* of the *Conforming Clergie* to maintain it against all the *Arguments* of *Papists* and *Fanaticks*; whereby it will also appear, how *impotent* and *malicious* their *Accusations* have been, in that they have declaimed most vehemently against those as *Papists*, that have most *learnedly* and *successfully* defended the *established Church* against *Popery* and *Fanaticism*, which have been equally pernicious to it. Inso-  
much that if any *loyal Clergie-man* or other, hath in a time of need written for *Loyalty*

or *Conformity*, they have been marked out for *Papists* : which is a plain Argument that the *Popery* and *Tyranny* which they *decry*, is *Christian Loyalty* and *Conformity*.

And to manifest to all sober men, how little of good nature, as well as of *Christian Piety* and *Charity* these men have, I have given many *undeniable instances* of their acting on the *same Principles*, and in the *like Practices* as the most *dangerous Papists*, sometimes in *actual confederacy* with them, for the *ruine* of the *Government* : For however they seem *opposite* to each other, they are *agreed* to do the *Government* a mischief ; and *Duo quum faciunt idem, non sunt Duo* : They that agree in *Treason*, are all *Traytors*. *Facinus quos inquinat, æquat*. And of this, take the following instance.

On *October 3. 1643*. there was a Letter sent from *Dublin* to a *Member* of the *House of Commons*, which shews by what example they acted, as followeth.

*There was a Fryar taken the last Expedition into Conaught, about whom was found a Collection of all your Votes, Ordinances, and Declarations, carefully marked with short marginal Notes, out of which he composed a large Manuscript intituled, An Apology of the Catholics of Ireland, or a Justification of their defensive Arms for the preservation of their Religion,*

ligion, the maintenance of his Majesties Rights and Prerogatives, the natural and just defence of their Lives and Estates, and the Liberty of their Country, by the practice of the State of *England*, and the Judgment and Authority of both Houses of Parliament. *It was penned with so little variation of Language, that the name of Ireland being changed for England, and the chief Actors there, for those under the Parliament, your own Clerk would scarce know it from one of your own Declarations. All that they do, is for the good of the King and Kingdom; he is intrusted with all for the good of the People; if he dischargeth not his trust, but is advised by evil Counsellors, and persons they cannot confide in, 'tis their duty to see this Trust discharged according to the condition and true intent thereof: That they saw their Religion and Liberty in danger of extirpation, and therefore had reason to put themselves in a posture of Defence; but are ready to lay down their Arms, as soon as the great Offices of the Kingdom are put into such hands as they can confide in, &c. Mutato nomine, de te Anglia narratur.*

There is lately printed an excellent Treatise, vindicating the *Church of England* from the imputation of *Popery* in *Doctrine, Worship, and Discipline*; to which I refer my Reader as to those points. That which I designe,

is to *vindicate* our *Governours* in *Church* and *State*, principally those who have been most accused, from the like *Aspersions*; and to *re-tort* the *calumny* of their *Accusers*, by shewing their *Harmony* and *Intrigues* with the *Papists* both in *Principles* and *Practices*; that the mouth of such *Slanderers* may be stopped.

The following *Collections* may serve to convince all well-affected persons, that both the *Papists* and *Fanaticks* (how contrary soever to each other) are well agreed to attempt the *Ruine* of our *Church* as it is now *established*; the *Papists*, under the pretence that we are *Hereticks*; and the *Fanaticks*, that we are *Papists*: but the true reason is, that the *Papists* may regain those *Profits* and *Dignities* which for a long time they usurped in *this Nation*, which was the *most fruitful Garden* that ever the *Pope* claimed as belonging to his *Palace*; and the *Fanaticks*, that they may retrieve their former *sacrilegious Purchases* of *Crown* and *Church-lands*, and divide them among themselves. Of the first we have this evidence, That the *Pope* fills up the places of our *Bishops*, *Deans*, and other *Dignitaries*, to encourage his *Emissaries*: of which we have this *Specimen* in print.



## BISHOPS.

CANTERBURY: Cardinal *Howard*.

YORK: *Perrot*, Superior of Secular Priests.

LONDON: *Corker*, President of Benedictine Monks.

WINCHESTER: *White*, alias *Whitebread*.

DURHAM: *Strange*, late Provincial of Jesuits.

SALISBURY: Dr. *Godden*.

NORWICH: *Nappier*, a Franciscan.

ELI: *Vincent*, Provincial of Dominican Monks.

EXETER: *Wolfe*, one of the Sorbone.

PETERBOROUGH: *Gifford*, a Dominican Fryar.

LINCOLN: Sir *Jo. Warner*, Baronet, a Jesuit.

CHICHESTER: *Morgan*, a Jesuit.

BATH and WELLS: Dr. *Armstrong*, a Franciscan.

CARLISLE: *Wilmot*, alias *Quarterman*.

CHESTER: *Thimbleby*, a Secular Priest.

HEREFORD: Sir *Tho. Preston*, a Jesuit.

BRISTOL: *Mundson*, a Dominican.

OXFORD: *Williams*, Rector of *Watton* in *Flanders*.

St. DAVIDS: *Belfon*, a Secular Priest.

St. ASAPH: *Jones*, a Secular Priest.

**BANGOR** : *Joseph David Kemash*, a Dominican.

### ABBOTS.

**WESTMINSTER** : *Dr. Seldon*, a Benedictine Monk.

**SION-HOUSE** : *Skinner*, a Benedictine Monk.

### DEANS.

**CANTERBURY** : *Belton*, a Sorbonist.

**ST. PAULS** : *Libourne*, a Secular, Secretary to Cardinal *Howard*.

**WINDSOR** : *Howard*, with twelve Benedictine Canons.

**CHICHESTER** : *Morgan*, a Secular.

**WINTON** : *Dr. Watkinson*, President of the English Colledge at *Lisbone*.

Many other *Dignities* are by the *Popes Bull* disposed of to Foreigners : but these, being of our Kings Dominions, have been many of them diligent Promoters of our Wars, that they might kill and take possession. Judge now what temptation our present *Bishops* have to bring in *Popery*, when the coming in of *that*, will turn them out of their *Dignities* and *Livelihoods* ; if not out of the *World* too, as in the *Marian* days. And

And that the *Fanatics* aim at the same end, is demonstrable not onely from the *unlimited* power which some of their *Ministers* exercised over their *Brethren*, far beyond any of the *Bishops*; but their dividing the *most profitable Benefices* among themselves, sequestering those *loyal Clergie-men* that were *legally* possessed of them: As also from a late *Proposal* of *Baxter, Humfrys, and Lob*, in the name of other *Nonconformists*; who would still retain the name of *Bishops*, so they might have the power and profit: for they would have some chosen out of the *several Parties* of *Presbyterians, Independents, and Anabaptists*; onely they desire that the *Bishops* should be declared *Ecclesiastical Officers* under the *King*, acting *Circa Sacra* onely by vertue of his *Commission and Authority*: upon which account, if any of the eminent among the *Nonconformists* were chosen *Bishops*, they could not refuse it (as they say.) And indeed, at the time of making this *Proposal*, these *wise men*, like the *wise Ladies* of *Sisera's Mother*, had divided the *Spoil*, to every man a prey of two or three *Dignities*, besides the *Garments of divers colours*, *Judg. 5. 30.* Now I desire all rational men to consider, that as it is a great folly and meer fascination in some, to serve the lusts of those that are the *Slaves* of him that stiles himself the *Servum Servorum Domini*:

so it is *no less*, to serve the lusts of such as are the *Servi Servorum Diaboli*, under what pretence soever.

It is well known how impetuously *both* these *Factions* have attempted to ruine the *establisht Church*; and despairing to do it by *Reason and Argument*, they endeavour to do it by *wicked Arts and Arms*, or *bloudy Assassinations*. One *Engine* that hath had a *perpetual motion* to this end, hath been the great *Clamour* against our *Governours* in Church and State, as being *Antichristian* and *Popishly affected*. Thus our *martyred King* and *Archbishop*, and generally *all the Bishops* in those days, with other *chief Ministers of State*, were condemned as *Papists*; though the *Lye* were so gross, as to carry its *confutation* with it, they all dying in that *Faith and Profession*, both for *Doctrine, Discipline, and Worship*, in which the *Martyrs* in *Queen Mary's* days died: which *holy Faith* also died with them.

And now again, the *Church* is accused as having *made many steps towards Popery*; the *King* is accused as a *Favourer* of it; and all, except three or four *Bishops*, are declared to be *Popishly affected*: the *Clergy* are *Popish Clergie-men*; and *Dr. Stillingfleet*, among others, a *Projector for Rome*. Whereas *those very men* that have set this *Engine* on work, do improve the *same methods* as the *Papists* have

have prescribed to ruine us ; that is, by *dividing* us, and seeking to *raise Wars* and *Confusions* among us. In which how mutually and brotherly they have assisted each other, is the designe of this *Collection* to *shew*, and thereby to *silence* this *Obloquy*. And,

1. I shall shew their *Harmony* and *Agreement* in such Principles as tend to *War* and *Confusion*. And,

2. Their *joynt practices* to effect the same. For unless the *Popes Bull* do plow with the *Geneva Heifers*, they can never turn up the *foundations of Sion*.

Now to evince this, I shall not rake together the unclean and poysonous *Maximes* of *Mariana*, *Sayer*, *Bellarmino*, *Scribanius*, *Gretserus*, *Becanus*, *Suarez*, &c. nor compare them with the *dangerous Positions* of *Knox*, *Bucanan*, *Goodman*, and others mentioned by *Bishop Bancroft*, the congratulatory *Epistle* of *Lisymachus Nicanor* to his *Covenanting Brethren* in *Scotland*; but content myself, and I hope satisfy my *Reader* with the two following *Instances*: The first is one *Thomas White* a *Romish Emisary*, who by many Books written in the time of the *Usurpation*, sought to debauch the Nation; especially by one printed in the year 1652, called *The Grounds of Obedience and Government*, with this abused *Maxime* in the *Title-page*, *Salus Populi Suprema*

*prema lex esto* ; which was applied in a mistaken sence, to very ill purposes, by the Fanatics. In this Book, like a Priest of Mars, he scatters these *Fire-brands*, enough to set any Kingdom on fire ; and composed it in a small *Tract*, like so many *hand-Granado's* fitted for every mans fingers. These are his Positions :

First, That the Magistrate by his miscarriages abdicates himself from being a Magistrate, and proveth a Robber instead of a Defender ; which last word he writes with a great D, to shew whom he meant.

Secondly, That by the evil management or insufficiency of Governours, it is remitted to the force of nature to provide for our selves ; and that we are not bound by any promise made to our Governours, p. 123, 124.

Thirdly, If the Magistrate have truly deserved to be dispossessed, or if it be rationally doubted that he hath deserved it, and be actually out of possession, a Subject hath no obligation to hazard for his restitution, but rather to hinder it : for since it is the common good that both the Magistrate and the Subject are to aim at, it is the common harm to admit again of such a Magistrate ; and every one is bound to his power to resist him, p. 133. If he be innocent, and wrong-fully deposed, nay let us adde, one that hath governed well, and deserved much of the

the Commonwealth, yet is he totally dispossessed, and in these circumstances, it were better for the common good to stay as they are, than to venture the restoring of him, because of the publick hazard. — And the dispossessed Prince is obliged absolutely to renounce all right and claim to Government; and if he doth not, he is worse than an Infidel, p. 135, 136. If the People by any circumstance be devolved to the state of Anarchy, their Promise made to their expelled Governour binds no more, p. 122.

Fourthly, That when the Peoples Good stands on the Possessors side, then clearly he begins, and then the People think themselves well, and they manifestly consent to the present Government: for who can assure they shall be better by return of the dispossessed Party? Surely by the common presumption, the Gainer is like to defend them better than the Loser.

You may see by this leading man, how industrious the Papists were to hinder the Restoration of Charles the Second, as well as to procure the Destruction of Charles the First. Now that the Fanaticks ran parallel with the Papists in these Traiterous Positions, I shall shew, from a Book printed Anno 1658, by Mr. Richard Baxter, called *The Holy Commonwealth*; in which he sets down the three Qualifications, as of necessity to the being of Sovereign power. First, so much understanding;

ding; secondly, so much strength, or executive power, by his interest in the people or others, as are necessary to the ends of Government.

P. 130. From whence he deduceth three Corollaries: 1. When Providence depriveth a man of his understanding and intellectual capacity, and that stately to his ordinary temper, it maketh him incapable of Government, though not of the name, Thes. 135. 2. If God permits Princes to turn so wicked, as to be incapable of governing so as is consistent with the ends of Government, it makes him an incapable Subject of the power, and so deposeth him. 3. If Providence stately disable him that was a Sovereign from the executing of the Law, it makes him an incapable Subject of the power, and so deposeth him, Thes. 137.

To which he adds: Though it is possible and likely that the guilt is or may be theirs who have disabled the Ruler by deserting him, yet he is dismissed from the charge of Government, and particular innocent Members are disobliged from being governed by him, if the Governour be justly dispossessed; as by a lawful War (which Mr. Baxter declares the War against King Charles the First was) in which he loseth his right; especially if he violate the Constitution, and enter into a Military state against the People, and by them be conquered, they are not obliged



obliged to restore him, unless there be some special obligation upon them besides their Allegiance, Thes. 145. If the person dispossessed, though it were unjustly, do afterwards become incapable of Government, it is not the duty of his Subjects to seek his Restitution, Thes. 146. If an Army of Neighbours, Inhabitants (or whoever) do, though injuriously, expel the Sovereign, and resolve to ruine the Commonwealth, rather than he shall be restored; and if the Commonwealth may prosper without his restoration, it is the duty of such an injured Prince, for the common good, to resigne his Government; and if he will not, the People ought to judge him as made incapable by Providence, and not to seek his restitution, to the apparent ruine of the Commonwealth, Thes. 147. If therefore the rightful Governour be so long dispossessed, that the Commonwealth can be no longer without, but to the apparent hazard of its ruine, we (i.e.) the people that dispossessed him, are to judge that Providence hath dispossessed the former, and presently consent to another, Thes. 149. If a People that by Oath and Duty are obliged to a Sovereign, shall sinfully dispossess him, and contrary to their Covenants chuse and covenant with another, they may be obliged by their later Covenant, notwithstanding their former, Thes. 181. If a Nation injuriously deprive themselves of a worthy Prince, the hurt will be their

own, and they punish themselves; but if it be necessary to their welfare, it is no injury to him, but a King that by War will seek Reparation from the Body of the People, doth put himself into a Hostile state, and tells them actually that he looks to his own good more than theirs and bids them take him for their Enemy, and defend themselves if they can, p. 424. Though a Nation wrong their King, and so quoad meritum Cause, they are on the worse side, yet may be not lawfully war against the common good on that account; nor any help him in such a War because, propter finem, he hath the worse Cause, Thes. 352. And p. 476. we were to believe the Parliaments Declarations and Professions, that the War which they raised was not against the King either in respect of his Authority or his Person, but onely against Delinquent Subjects. (And yet they actually fought against the King's Person and Authority. And, We are to believe (saith Mr. Baxter p. 422.) That men would kill them whom they fight against. Quam bene convenient!

Mr. Baxter never followed any Text that he preached on, so closely as he hath done the Text of *this Jesuit* in the Commentary of his *Holy Commonwealth*.

John Milton printed a Book very well like this of Mr. White, called *The Tenure of King and Magistrates*; driving on this Maxim

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That it is lawful for any that have power, to call to account, depose, and put to death wicked Kings and Tyrants, after due conviction, if the ordinary Magistrate neglect it.

We have lately had a *Fanatical Lawyer* following the *Divine* Mr. Baxter, transcribing out of the same Book of Mr. White, to the same end. I shall observe onely this Note among others in Mr. White, p. 158. where he answers some Objections of Divines concerning the Authority of Princes and Non-resistance. *Up steps the Divine* (saith he) *to preach us out of Scripture the Duty we owe to Kings, no less than Death and Damnation being the Guerdons of Disobedience and Rebellion.* And p. 159. *They will speak reason too, telling us that God by nature is high Lord and Master of all: That whoever is in power, receiveth his right from him: That Obedience consists in doing the Will of him that commandeth; and concludes, that his Will ought to be obeyed till God taketh away the obligation.* (i. e.) *till he who is to be obeyed himself releaseth the right.* And p. 160. *They alledge that God by his special command transferred the Kingdom from Saul to David, from Rehoboam to Jeroboam: so that, in fine, all that is brought out of Scripture falleth short of proving that no time can make void the right of a King, once given him by the hand of God.*

Now mark what Mr. *White* says to overthrow the sence of Scripture : *The reason* (saith he) *of this weak way of alleadging Scripture is, that when they read that God commandeth or doth this, they look not into Nature to know what this commanding or doing is, but presently imagine God commands it by exprefs and direct words, and doth it by an immediate Position of the things said to be done : whereas in Nature the commands are nothing but the natural light God hath bestowed on mankind, and which is therefore frequently called the Law of Nature. Likewise Gods doing a thing is many times only the course of natural second causes, to which because God gives the direction and motion, he both doth, and is said to do all that is done by them.*

These things are transcribed by Mr. *Hunt* to the same ends that Mr. *White* urged them, p. 144. of his *Postscript*. *The nature of Government, and its Original* (saith he) *hath been prejudiced by men, that understanding nothing but words, and Grammar-Divines, without contemplating Gods Attributes, or the nature of man, or the reasonableness of moral Precepts, have undertaken to declare the sence of Scripture, and infer that Sovereign power is not of humane institution, but of divine appointment, because they find it there written, that by him Kings raign ; imagining that when the*  
*Scripture*

Scripture saith God commands or doth this, that God commanded it by expresse words, or doth it by an immediate position of the thing done: whereas in Nature his commands are nothing but the natural light God hath bestowed on mankind; likewise Gods doing a thing is onely the course of natural and second causes, to which because God gives direction and motion, he doth both, and is said to do all that is done.

After this, Mr. Hunt rails against our Divines in the Jesuits (Mr. White's) Language also. White calls them Grammar-Divines, verbal and wind-blown Divines, p. 162. and Mr. Hunt calls them men that understand nothing but words, and Grammar-Divines: who (saith Mr. White) without Logick, Philosophy, or Morality, undertake to be Interpreters of the sacred Bible. Who (saith Mr. Hunt) without contemplating Gods Attributes, or the nature of man, or the reasonableness of moral Precepts, have undertaken to declare the sence of Scripture.

From the Premises we may draw this Conclusion, That the Papists and Fanaticks do agree, and mutually lend and borrow Arguments to resist Kings, elude the Scriptures, defame the English Clergie, and overthrow the Government in Church and State. As,

1. That to conclude from the sence of Scripture, is a weak way of arguing.

2. That *Non obstante* what the Scripture says of *Divine right of Sovereign power*, it is not of *Divine*, but *Humane institution*.

3. That *Providence* and the effects of *second causes* being influenced by God, are of *equal authority* with the *Precepts* enjoined by the *Word of God*.

4. That the *Sovereign power* being but of *humane institution*, may be *resisted*, and is *alterable*.

5. That having cast off their *Loyalty* to the *King* and *his Laws*, they are in a fair way to cast off *God* and *his Laws*.

6. That the *worst of Papists*, and their *Atheistical Arguments*, are made use of by some that call themselves *true Protestants*, against the *express commands* of God for *Obedience to the Higher Powers*.

There was printed, 1650, an *Answer* to Dr. Ferne's *Exercitation concerning usurped Powers*; in which the Answerer endeavoured to prove, 1. *That the present was no Usurpation*: 2. *That former Oaths obliged not against Obedience to present Powers*: 3. *That Obedience is due to Powers in possession, though unlawfully entred*. And for his Authority, he is not ashamed to quote these words of the Jesuit Moline de Justitiâ, Tract. 3. Disput. 6. to this purpose: *Two ways one may be a Tyrant*: 1. *Because though he be the true Sovereign*

reign of the Commonwealth, he doth unjustly govern it ; in this case it is a sin for private men to kill him ; but for his own defence it is lawful, and the Commonwealth assembled by their Chieftains may depose him, and being deposed, kill him, unless greater mischief would accrue to the Commonwealth by his murder, for then he should offend against the love of the Commonwealth in killing of him. Shortly after he quotes Sayr's Case Consc. l. 7. c. 10. n. 4. *Id curare debet Occisor, ita caute & consulto facere, ut non peiores exitus & scandala ex tali Occisione sperentur* : which I forbear to English. You see how firmly the Jesuit and Presbyter are yoked, to plow up the Field of the English Church and Government. They must needs be their Disciples, whose Principles and Practices they so zealously follow. I go on to shew in the second place their agreement in practice : for by their fruits also you may know them.

The first of these is the fact that the  
the second is the fact that the  
the third is the fact that the  
the fourth is the fact that the  
the fifth is the fact that the  
the sixth is the fact that the  
the seventh is the fact that the  
the eighth is the fact that the  
the ninth is the fact that the  
the tenth is the fact that the



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THE  
INTRIGUES  
OF THE

Papists and Fanaticks

Against the  
Government and Religion Established  
Historically related.

WHEN the Church of *England* was established under *Queen Elizabeth*, there was no considerable *Separation* from it by *Papists* or *Fanaticks*, until some of the new *Society of Jesus* invented a method to divide and destroy the Church of Christ among us. Which they endeavoured, first, by opposing those who were *Parish-Priests* in the days of *Queen Mary*, but allowed of our *Church-Communion*; and having prevailed against them, they rested not there, but endeavoured by new Artifices to draw off some zealous *Protestants* into separate *Congregations*, under a pretence of greater purity of Ordinances

nances and *Worship* than were practised in our Church. And to this end, they imploy some subtil and *Eloquent men*, in the disguise of *zealous Protestant-Ministers*, to exercise their gifts of *Extemporary prayer*, which they reported to be by an *extraordinary assistance and gift of the Spirit*. Their preaching also was designed to bring the Order of *Bishops* into *contempt*, to which they were known enemies; to lay aside the *Liturgie*, as a stinting of their *gifts of the Spirit*; and run down those few *Ceremonies* that were retained, that we might not have the *face of a Church*, or any *decency* among us. They opposed also the *Supremacy* of the *Queen* over *things and persons in Religious Administrations*; which they contended to belong to *Ministers of their rank and order*.

And although some of the *Popish Priests* at that time and afterward, (such as *Widdrington, Preston, Watson*, and the Authors of the *Jesuites Catechisme*) opposed them in *these things*, as tending to provoke her Majesty to greater severity against them, and wrote very learnedly against those *Jesuits*, discovering their designs to be not only against the *Protestants*, but the more moderate *Papists*; yet were there some troublesome *Ministers*, (*Goodman, Gilby, Whittingham, &c.*) and others, that had been at *Geneva* and other *Presbyter-*  
rian

*rian Towns*, and submitted to *that Discipline*, which took all *those hints* from the *Jesuits*, and made such *improvements*, that the *Disciples* in a short time exceeded their *Masters*.

Doctor *Cox*, *Horne*, and others, who adhered to the Church of *England*, and had known their *turbulent behaviour* at *Geneva*, *Frankfort*, and other places, opposed their admission to the *publick Ministry*; and so they and the *Jesuits* creep first into *houses*, and lead captive *silly women*, and *beguile the hearts of simple men*; and afterward gather *distinct and separate Congregations*, under pretence of *purer Worship*, and a *more holy Discipline*. Of which *practice*, we have these *undeniable instances*.

In the Ninth year of *Queen Elizabeth*, one *Faithful Commin*, of the Order of *St. Dominick*, got the reputation of a *zealous Protestant Minister*, by railing against *Pius Quintus* the Pope, and defaming the *Liturgie*, as being the *Mass in English*; in opposition to which, the first set up the use of *Extempore prayers*, as a gift of the *Spirit*, which ought not to be *stinted* by *Forms* and *Liturgies*: but one *Mr. Clerkson*, Chaplain to the *Archbishop*, discovered him to be a *Popish Priest*; which was evidently proved before the *Queen* and *Archbishop*. So that he being dismissed upon *Bail* to appear at a certain day, and

and it hapning that on that day the *Spanish Ambassador* having publick Audience of the Queen, he could not be admitted, though he attended with his Bail; he boasted to his followers, that the Queen and Council had dismissed him. But finding how *uneasie* it would be for him in *England*, he told his *Pro-selytes*, he was resolved to go *beyond the Sea*, to preach the Gospel there: and having acquainted his *Disciples* how *poor* he was, and commended to them the *Cause of God*, he got 130*l.* which was collected among the *Brotherhood*, besides what his *compassionate Sisters* bestowed on him: and there was no farther news of this *godly man*, until one *John Baker*, Master of a Ship, gave this account of him to the Queen, That he had seen this *Faithful Commin* in the *Low-Countries*, and that one *Martin van Duval*, a Merchant of *Amsterdam*, told him that *Commin* had been lately at *Rome*, and there imprisoned by the Pope; but upon his Letter to the Pope, he was sent for the next day, and being accused for *reviling* the Pope, and *railing against his Church* among the *Hereticks of England*, he confessed that *his lips had uttered what his heart never thought*, and pleaded what considerable service he had done the Pope, by preaching against *set Forms of prayer*, and calling the *English prayer, English Mass*, perswading the people

people to pray *Spiritually* and *Extempore* : by which means the *Church of England* was become as odious to them to whom he preached, as the *Mass* was to the *Church of England* ; which would prove a *stumbling-block* to that Church, while it was a Church. Upon which the Pope *commended* him, and dismissed him with a *gratuity* of 2000 Ducats for his good service.

The next Instance is of one *Thomas Heath* a *Jesuite*, in the Eleventh year of *Queen Elizabeth*, whose Brother *Nic. Heath* had been Bishop of *Rocheſter* in *H. 8. days*. He comes to the Dean of *Rocheſter*, deſiring him to preſent him to the Biſhop for ſome Preferment. In order to which, he pretending himſelf to be a *poor Miniſter*, the Dean orders him to preach in the Cathedral ; which he did on that Text, *Acts 12. 6. Peter therefore was kept in priſon, but prayers were made without ceaſing in the Church to God for him* ; on which he told the people, *that it was not thoſe of the Church of England, but Spiritual prayers, that brought Peter out of priſon : and where (ſaid he) have we Scripture for any ſet form in the Church ?* But it ſo hapned, that drawing out his Handkerchief in the Pulpit, he let fall a *Letter*, which the Sexton found, and brought to the Dean ; which was as follows :

Brother,

Brother,

**T**He Council of our Fraternity have thought fit to send you David George, Theodorus Sartor, and John Huts, their Collections, which you may distribute as you see fit for your purpose, according to the peoples inclinations. These mixtures with your own, will not only a little puzzle the Understandings of the Auditors, but make your self famous. We suppose your wants are not considerable at present, by what we have heard, how your flock do admire you every day more and more. Be not over-zealous in your proceedings in the beginning, but gradually win on them as you visit them; and according as you find their inclinations to your design, let us hear how you have proceeded; for it will satisfie your Brethren much, and enable them the better to instruct you for the future. Hallingham, Benson, and Coleman, have set a Faction among the German Hereticks, so that several who have turned from us, have now denied their Baptism: which we hope will soon turn the scale, and bring them back to their old principles. This we have certified to the Council and Cardinals, That there is no other way to prevent people from turning Hereticks, and for recalling of others back again to the Mother-Church, than by the diversities of Doctrines. We all wish you to prosper.

Madrid, Oct. 26. 1568.

Sam. Malt.

This

This Letter was directed under the name of *Thomas Finne* ; and *Malt* was known to be an *English Jesuite* at *Madrid* in *Spain* ; and *Hallingham*, *Coleman*, and *Benson*, with one *Button*, and some others that went under the notion of *zealous Preachers*, are noted by our *Historians* as active instruments of *Separation* among us ; whom the Letter calls *German Hereticks*, (i. e.) *Lutherans* : which *Dr. Stillingfleet* notes out of *Mr. Cambden*, A. D. 1568. agreeing with the date of this Letter ; who says, that while *Harding*, *Sanders*, and others, attacked our Church on one side, *Coleman*, *Button*, *Hillingham*, *Benson*, and others, were busie on the other ; who under a pretence of *purser Reformation*, opposed the *Discipline*, *Liturgie*, and *Calling of our Bishops*, as approaching too near to the Church of *Rome*. And these he notes to be the *beginners* of those *Controversies*, which after broke out with so great violence. *Nec dum finitus Orestes.*

So that while the *Pope* held the *hot-Iron* of *Dissention* on the Anvil, the *open Jesuite* and the *Masquerade Presbyter* on each side, beat with their *Sledges* to form the *Project* after his mind.

But upon the receipt of the *Letter*, the *Dean* carried it to *Edmond Gest* then *Bishop of Rochester*, who instantly caused the said

*Heath* to be apprehended and examined ; and urging against him what he had said in his Sermon against the *Liturgie*, and for *Spiritual Prayers*, he confessed that he was not wholly of the *Episcopal party* of *England*, but that he had laboured to refine the *Protestants*, and to take off all *Smacks* of *Ceremonies*, that in the least do tend to the *Romish Faith*. He confessed also , that he knew the said *Sam. Malt*, but objected, that the Letter was not directed to him, but to one *Thomas Finne* : which (as the Bishop observed) was usual among the *Jesuites*. And to put the matter out of controversie, the Bishop sent to *Heath's* Lodgings , where in one of his Boots were found his *Beads*, and a *License* from the *Fraternity* of the *Jesuits*, and a *Bull* dated the first of *Pius Quintus* , to preach what Doctrine that *Society* pleased , for dividing of *Protestants*, particularly naming the *English* as *Hereticks*. In his Trunk were also several Books for denying *Baptism* to *Infants*, and containing several *blasphemies*.

*Heath* being *Convicted* of these things in open Court , the Bishop offered him, that if he would discover for what causes he ran in to those *Schisms*, and reform his course of life, he and the whole Court would intercede for his pardon , and provide for his future maintenance. To which he answered , My Lord,



Lord, I know not what I might have done had I not been so publickly examined; but seeing my vocation is so publickly known, I shall not acknowledge my self to be guilty of any Misdemeanour: for I have fought a good fight for Christ, whose cause I have taken in hand. This Experiment I tryed among my Country-men, that the world may see, that all those who term themselves Protestants are not of the Church of England, though they speak against Rome.

The Bishop hearing him speak so obstinately, said, Behold, my Brethren a Jesuits Confession, how he hath declared he had set up a certain Form of Religion, purposely to withdraw you from the Church of England: but woe be to those deluders, and to those that will be deluded by them: we have a good Law, and the light of the Holy Gospel now flourishing among us, which hath for many years past been absconded: therefore, my Brethren, consider the condition of your Souls; if you start aside once from your Principles, having the right way so plainly set before you, you will not only run into Popish slavery again, but be in peril of a total confusion of Soul and body. And if Rome get onto her foot on these dominions again, not only yourselves and your Children, but your Princes and Nobles shall become slaves to her Idolatry.

Then was he remanded to prison, and for three days brought to the Market-place

at *Rochester*, where he stood by the *High-crofs* with a *paper* before his breast, in which was written his *Crimes*: then he was *Pillorred*; and on the last day his *Ears cut off*, his *Nose slit*, and his *Forehead* branded with the Letter *R*, and was condemned to endure perpetual *imprisonment*. But it lasted not long; for a few Months after he dyed suddenly, not without the suspicion of having *poysoned* himself.

How many other *Romish Emissaries* did act after this manner, is not known; but certain it is, that they had prevailed with too many to walk in their steps, and to carry on the work in the same method that they had begun, to make a *Separation* among us: for the Authors of the *Admonition*, in the 14 of *Queen Elizabeth*, declared they would have *neither Papists nor others constrained to Communicate*: which although (as *A.B. Whitgift* saith) they intended as a *plea* for their own *Separation* from the *Church*, yet (saith he) the *Papists* could not have met with better *Proctors*: and elsewhere he tells them, that they did the *Pope* very good service; and that he would not miss them for any thing: for what is his desire, but to have the *Church of England*, which he hath *accused*, utterly *defaced* and *discredited*, by any means *overthrown*, if not by *Forreign Enemies*, yet by *dome-*

*domestical Dissentions* ? and what fitter and apter *instruments* could he have had for that purpose, than *you*, who under pretence of *zeal*, overthrow that which other men have *built* ; under colour of *purity* seeking to bring in *deformity* ; and under the cloak of *equality* and *humility*, would usurp as great *tyranny* and lofty *Lordliness* over your *Parishes*, as ever the Pope did over the *whole Church* ? And in another place, he saith, they were made the *Engines* of the *Popish Conclave*, whereby they intended to overthrow this *Church* by *our own folly*, which they cannot compass by all *their policy*. And Archbishop Grindal in a Letter of his, called *Fair warning*, part the second, expressed his great fear of two things, *Atheism* and *Popery*, and both arising out of our *needless Divisions and Dissentions*, fomented by *Satan* the enemy of *Mankind*, and the *Pope* the enemy of *Christendome*. By these *differences* the enemies of our *Religion* gain this, that nothing can be established by *Law* in the *Protestant Religion*, whose every part is not opposed by *one or other* of our own *Professors*. So that things continuing *loose and confused*, the *Papists* have their opportunity to urge their *Way*, which is attended with *Order and Government*, and our *Religion* continuing thus *distracted and divided*, some *vile wretches* lay hold of the *Arguments* on

one side, to confute the other, and so hope at last to destroy all.

In these practices our *Dissenters* have for many years followed the directions of the *Jesuite Contzen*, for inducing Popery into a Country; as 1. That it be done under a pretence of ease to tender Consciences. 2. That when liberty is granted, then the parties be forbid to contend with each other. 3. That those who suspect the design, and preach against it, be traduced as men that preach very unseasonable Doctrine; that they are proud, and self-opiniators, and enemies to peace and union. 4. That the Prince make as much use of the divisions of his enemies, as of the agreement of his friends. All which Rules have been observed by the Enemies of our Church, as well *Dissenters* as *Romish Recusants*.

In the year 1588. the King of Spain, being thereto incouraged by an information of the great divisions and animosities among us, by reason whereof he expected either a greater Parry to joyn with him, or the less opposition, sent his *Invincible Armado* upon our Coasts; at which time, the *Protestant Dissenters*, instead of Arming in defence of the Queen and themselves, did with greater importunity and confidence assault her with *Petitions* and *Libels*; taking advantage of the times, as if they were more ready to assist the

the Spaniards than her Majesty, in case their unreasonable requests were not granted. Of which see Mr. Camden in his Annals, Anno 1588.

Notwithstanding all the service that Bishop Jewel had done against the Papists, upon his preaching a Sermon at St. Pauls Cross in defence of the Orders of this Church, and obedience to them; he was so ungratefully and spitefully used by the then Dissenters, that for his own vindication, he made a solemn Protestation on his death-bed, that what he then said, was neither to please some, nor to displease others, but to promote peace and unity among Brethren. Of which Archbishop Whitgift in his Defence, p. 423. saith: *It is the manner, except you please their humour in all things, though you otherwise deserve never so well, all is nothing with them, but they will deprave you, rail on you, back-bite you, invent lies of you, and spread false rumors; as though you were the vilest persons on earth.* This humour Mr. Baxter observes in those that came from Geneva, &c. No sooner were they called home, saith he, (p. 150. of his *Gildas*) but some of them were so intemperate, impatient, and unpeaceable, that some turned to flat Separation, and flew in the faces of the Prelates with revilings, (*Quere*, Whether Mr. B. doth not do what he condemned in them) and some of them

them (saith he) fled to New-England, and other Countries in America. Thither went Hooker, Davenport, Shephard, Allen, Cobbet, Noyes, Parker, &c. p. 157. And some were so hot at home, that they were put to death; as Hacket, Coppinger, &c. who fell to Blasphemy and Treason. And that Ainsworth, Robinson, and Johnson fled beyond Sea, and there gathered Churches, and broke by divisions among themselves.

The Queen also is reported by these Seditaries, to be a greater friend to the Papists than to her Protestant Subjects, though her design was only to keep up the Church in some decency and splendour, the better to retain the Papists in due obedience. For by her Instructions to Secretary Walsingham, Aug. 11. 1570. she affirms, *That the heads of the Romish party did ordinarily resort from the beginning of her Reign to Divine Service in the Church, without shew of mis-liking.* And Sir Ed. Cook in his Charge at Norwich 1605. says, *they did so during the ten first years of her Reign:* and it is acknowledged by some late Dissenters, p. 64. of their Reply to Doctor Stillingfleet, *That the great propension in the Queen to gain the Popish party to her Communion by the alterations made in the Liturgie, making the Sacramental bread round like the wafers, placing the Table where the Altar stood,*

&c.

*&c. was attended with the Conformity of many who were cordially addicted to the Church of Rome. So that the Papists seemed to have a better opinion of the Reformation, than some Protestants then or now have; and though the present Church hath laid aside many of those things, which were then enjoyed and practised, retaining only three Ceremonies for decency, yet the implacable malice of their Successors, still reviles the Church, as making nearer approach to Popery.*

*By these insolent proceedings, both of Popish and other Separatists, the Queen was necessitated to pass both those Acts, of the 23 and 35 of her Raign, to retain her Subjects in due Obedience, which equally respect all the dissenting Parties; and by a just execution of those and other good Laws upon some principal Offenders of all sides, the storms which they had raised were prevented: which is well observed by Dr Burnet, in his Preface to his Second Volume, That her strict enjoining Uniformity, making some turbulent persons examples, countenancing the Clergie, especially the Archbishop Whitgift, and the sincerity and watchfulness of the Council and inferior Officers, preserved the Nation in peace all her days. (And he adds) If her Successors had held the reins of Government with like steadiness of hand, the Nation, how headstrong soe-*

*ver,*

ver, could never have run into those desperate confusions, from which nothing but the hand of God could have redeemed us. N. B.

But to bring home my discourse to our times, and to the intended design, which is to shew, that the Rise of those Wars which have been lately among us, was from a confederacy between the *Papists* and other *Dis-senters*; I shall only mention what *distast* was taken by several *Scottish Lords*, upon the Kings revocation of those *Crown-lands*, which during the minority of his Father King *James* they had seized; and upon the Act for *Surrendries* of the *Tythes*, &c. whereupon they suggested, that their *Religion* was in danger, and that these things were done in favour of *Episcopacy*: And so they enter into a *Covenant for defence of their Religion*. And doubting of their own strength, they consult of engaging the King of *France* against their own King; to which end they agreed on the following *Letter*, directed, *Au Roy*; which Title is not wont to be given to any but their *Liege Lord* from his Subjects: of which his Majesty in his *lesser Declaration*, 1640. took *special notice*, and complained that they courted a *Forreign power* against him.



SIR,

**Y**our Majesty being the Sanctuary of afflicted Princes and States, we have found it necessary to send this Gentleman Mr. Colvil to represent to your Majesty the candor and ingenuity as well of our actions and intentions, which we desire to be written with the beam of the Sun, as well as to your Majesty. We therefore humbly beseech you, Sir, to give faith and credit to him to what he shall say on our part touching us and our affairs; being assured of an assistance equal to your wonted Clemency heretofore, and so often shewn to our Nation, which will not yield the glory to any other whatsoever, to be eternally,

SIR, Your Majesties most humble,  
most obedient,  
and most affectionate Servants,

*Roths, Montross, Lesly, Marr,  
Montgomery, London, Forester.*

This Letter was discovered, and brought to the King, and was proved to be the handwriting of London, who, being in London, was committed to the Tower; and on examination confessed it to be his hand: but excused the matter, because it was written before the Pacification. However, they had really engaged Cardinal Richlien, who governed the  
affairs

affairs of *France*. He sent one *Chamberlain* his *Chaplain*, a *Scot* by birth, to assist the *Covenanters*, and to attempt all ways for exasperating the first heats; with order not to depart till he might return with good news. He appointed one of his Secretaries also to reside in *Scotland*, and to march with them into *England*, to be present at the Council of War, and direct their business. *Hamilton's* Chaplain also had free access unto *Con* the *Popes Nuncio*, and a *Scotch-man*, then in *England* on the same designe.

And if *Mr. Rushworth* the *Parliaments* Historian may be credited, there were also at that time some Applications made to the King of *Spain*, who was then the most potent Monarch. For, p. 970, & 971. he says, That in the year 1639, when the *Spanish Armado* came on the Coasts of *England*, *Scotland* being then in a great ferment by the *Covenanters*, some of them thus argued: That there could be no Fleet strong enough to attempt them by Sea, except all the Kingdom did contribute to it; which, say they, cannot be done, except all the States joyn; of which we of the Confederacy shall be the greater part: and so the Enemy shall be forthwith forced to give liberty of Conscience to the *Catholicks*, or put themselves in danger of losing all. From whence it is collected, 1. That the *Scots* thought no Enemies so

so great, as the *King* and *his Party*. 2. That *Liberty of Conscience* was desired for the *Papists* as well as *themselves*. 3. That the *Covenanters* thought themselves the greater part of the *States*. And 4. That there was a *secret Confederacy* between *them* and the *Papists*; and this *Armado* was designed for *their assistance*. And as for the *King of Great Britain*, the Relator says, *If he will not give Liberty of Conscience, he shall be reduced to it with no little damage*.

As for *Argyle*, whose *Father* was a *known Papist*, I suppose he was as much of *that* as of *any Religion*, though he were the *Head* of the *Covenanters*: his *interest* was his *Religion*, as *this Action* of his doth demonstrate. His *Father* left a second *Wife*, by whose last *Will* there was given to the *Daughters* 12000 *l.* sterling; and *Argyle* prevailed to be admitted *Administrator*, he giving security to perform the *Will*: but shortly after he caused the eldest, whose *Portion* was 5000 *l.* to marry a *Gentleman* who accepted onely 1000 *l.* with her; which was paid by *Argyle's* *Surety*, and not repayed to this day, saith my *Author*. As to the other *Daughters*, there was a clause in the *Will*, *That if any of them should enter into Nunneries*, (for it seems they were inclinable to the *Popish Religion*) *they should have onely 300 l.* And being

being defrauded of their *due Maintenance*, two of them did enter into *Nunneries*; and the third, through his neglect, was ready to do the like. But *the Covenanter* cared for none of these things. See the *History of Independency*, Appendix, p. 7. Nor was *Hamilton*, whom the King intrusted as his *Commissioner* in that Kingdom, free from a *shrewd suspicion* of corresponding with the *Papists*, his *Chaplain* making frequent Applications to *Con* the *Popes Nuntio*, by whom he was commended as a man *fit for his purpose*; as shall appear in the discovery made by *Sir Will. Boswell*; of which hereafter.

The King, during the *interval of Parliaments*, which was for thirteen years, resolved on a Journey to *Scotland*, to be there crowned. He had requested that the *Crown* might be sent into *England*, to save that Journey; but the *Covenanters* and *Papists* sent word they durst not do it. *Marquess Huntly*, who obtained a *Toleration* of *Popery* there, told the Council there, *When his Majesty shall come and be crowned here, he will no doubt be sworn to our Laws: mean while, seeing he hath intrusted us with them, we will look they shall be observed.* And both *Papist* and *Covenanter* agreed to tell the King, that should he long defer that duty, they might perhaps be inclined to make choice of another King. The King there-

therefore goes into *Scotland*, and is crowned with great solemnity. But being there, he makes a *revocation* of such *Lands* as had been taken from the *Crown* in his Fathers minority.

And by the foresaid Commission of *Surrendries* (upon a *Petition* of many of the *Gentry*, *Ministry*, and *Commons*) he frees the *Ministers* and *People* from the *Vassalage* of some great men that had ingrossed the *Tythes* of the Nation, allowing the *Ministers* onely an inconsiderable *Pension*, keeping the generality of the *People* in *dependance* on them, and so *oppressing* them, that no one durst carry home his *nine parts* until the *Lay-Impropriator* had housed his *Tenth*. For this the King received great *Honour* and *Thanks* from the greatest part of the Nation; but the *Lords that were concerned*, caused it to be reported abroad, that this was done to the *prejudice* of their *Religion*, and to make greater provision for the *power* and *splendour* of *Bishops*: and from this time they confederate against the King, and provide for a *Rebellion*: *Et hinc illæ Lachrymæ*. But to look back a little into *England*.

In the last Parliament called by King *James*, *Feb. 19.* there was, as the King called it, a *stinging Petition* presented against the *Papists*; on which the King spake thus: *It*  
*hath*

hath been talked of my remisness in Religion, and a suspicion of a Toleration; but as God shall judge me, I never thought, or in word expressed any thing that savoured of it. It is true, that for reasons best known to myself, I did at times forbear the execution of the Laws, which might have hindred more weighty affairs, &c. The King therefore consented, 1. That all Jesuits and Seminary Priests, having taken Orders from the See of Rome, be forthwith commanded to depart out of his Majesties Dominions, and not to return under the penalty of the Laws now in force; and that none harbour or conceal them. 2. That all Armour and Ammunition be taken from them. 3. That all Papists be confined within five miles of their Dwelling-houses, and come not within ten miles of London, or the Kings or Princes Court. 4. That all Subjects be restrained from hearing Mass, or other Exercises of Romish Religion, in the houses of foreign Embassadors. 5. That none be intrusted as Justices of the Peace, Lord-Lieutenants, Deputies, Captains, &c. who resort not to Divine-Service. 6. That the Laws made against Recusants be put in execution, and not slacken them on any Treaty of Marriage, or otherwise with any forreign Princes.

To these the King answered, I cannot but commend your Zeal in offering this Petition; yet I hold my self unfortunate, that I am thought

to need a Spur to do that which my Conscience and Duty bind me to. What Religion I am of, my Books, my Profession and Behaviour declare: and I wish it may be written in Marble, and remain as a Mark on me to posterity, when I shall swerve from my Religion: for he that doth dissemble with God, is not to be trusted by men. The increase of Popery hath been my grief; and my endeavour hath been to prevent it: and if I have not been a Martyr, I have been a Confessor, though I have been far from prosecution—I therefore grant your Petition, That all Priests and Jesuits depart at a day; and will command my Judges to put the Laws in execution against them; I will restrain the resort to Embassadors houses, and provide for the education of Popish Children: for it is a shame they should be brought up here, as if they were at Rome. And assure your selves, I shall never hearken to the intercession of foreign Princes against the Laws. Hereupon many Noblemen and others that were in places of trust, were put out. So that King James could not be suspected of Popery.

In the first year of King Charles, a Parliament being called, June 18. a Petition of the like nature is presented; to which the King answered, That he was glad of their forwardness in Religion, and assures them of his readiness to comply with them. The particulars be-

ing like those in the former, and the *Answer* agreeable, I here omit : but the *King* granting all, added, *That he would have done the same things, had he not been desired; and what he now did, was from his Conscience, and his Duty to his Father, who in his last Speech commended to him the person, but not the Religion of the Queen.* Accordingly the *King* by Proclamation recalls the Children of *PAPISTS* from beyond the Seas, commands *JESUITS*, &c. to depart his Dominion to disarm all Recusants, and forbid the meeting of *Papists*; enjoyns the Judges to put the Law in execution against them. And many Lords and others suspected of Popery, were put out of Commission.

But *King Charles* being left intangled in many expensive affairs by his Father *King James*, for the discharge of which his *Revenues* were insufficient; was resolved to call to the *Parliament* for a *Supply*; which taking advantage of his necessities, would not grant him any thing considerable, unless he would part with what was of greater value than the *Crown*. And the *Privilege of Parliament* was made a *Rival* to the *Kings Prerogative* for several years together. The particulars are too large to be here repeated: but, *Sir Edward Cooke* told the *Parliament*, That the *French Embassador* told his Master what



had done during this last Parliament in sowing Divisions between the King and his People; and he was well rewarded for it. And at a Conference with the Lords, Sir Edward told them, That the Jesuits did vaunt at home, and sent Letters abroad, that all would be well, and doubted not to win ground upon us by our Divisions. Which Divisions were then visibly made by some leading men in the Parliament, such as Sir John Elliot, Mr. Pym, and others: but by whom they were acted, it doth not appear, though the mischievous effects of them brought the three Nations into Confusion.

What sport the Jesuits made of these transactions, appears by a Letter taken among some other Papers at Clerkenwel.

Father Rector,

**L** Et not a damp of Astonishment seize on your ardent soul, in apprehending the sudden and unexpected calling of a Parliament: we have not opposed, but rather further it; so that we hope as much in this Parliament, as ever we feared any in Queen Elizabeth's days. You must know, the Council is engaged to assist the King by way of Pterogative, in case the Parliamentary way should fail. You shall see this Parliament will resemble the Pelican, which takes a pleasure to dig out with its beak her

own Bowels. The elections of Knights and Burgeses have been in such confusion of apparent Faction, as that which we were wont to procure heretofore with much Art and Industry, when the Spanish Match was in treaty. Now it breaks out 'as naturally as a Botch or Boil, and spits and spews out its own rancour and venome. You remember how that famous and immortal Statesman Count Gundamor fed King James's fancy, and rock'd him asleep with the soft and sweet sound of Peace, to keep up the Spanish Treaty: he had but one principal means to further the great designe, which was, to set on King James that none but the Puritan Faction, which plotted Anarchy and his Confusion, were averse to this most happy Union. We steered on the same course, and have made great use of this Anarchical Election, and have prejudicated and anticipated the Great One, that none but the Kings Enemies and his are chosen of this Parliament, &c. We have now many Strings to our Bow, and have strongly fortified our Faction, and have added two Bulworks more. For when King James lived, you know he was very violent against Arminianism, and interrupted with his pestilent Wit and deep Learning our strong designs in Holland, and was a great friend to that old Rebel and Heretick the Prince of Orange. Now we have planted the Sovereign Drug Arminianism, which we hope will

will purge the Protestants from their Heresie ; and it flourisheth, and bears fruit in due season. The Materials which build up our Bulwork, are the Projectors and Beggars of all ranks and qualities ; to destroy the Parliament, and to introduce a new species and form of Government, which is Oligarchy : These serve as direct Mediums and Instruments to our end, which is the universal Catholick Monarchy. Our foundation must be Mutation, and Mutation will cause a Relaxation ; which will serve as so many violent Diseases ( as the Stone, Gout, &c. ) to the speedy destruction of our perpetual and insufferable anguish of body, which is worse than death it self. We proceed now with counsel, and mature deliberation, how and when to work on the Dukes jealousy and revenge ; and in this we give the honour to those which merit it, which are the Church-Catholicks. There is another matter of consequence which we take much into our consideration and tender care, which is, to stave off the Puritans, that they hang not on the Dukes ears : they are impudent subtil people, and it is to be feared lest they should negotiate a Reconciliation between the Duke and the Parliament. It is certain the Duke would gladly have reconciled himself to the Parliament at Oxford and Westminster ; but now we assure our selves we have so handled the matter, that both Duke and Parliament are ir-

reconcilable. For the better prevention of the Puritans, the Arminians have already lock'd up the Dukes ears; and we have those of our own Religion, which stand continually at the Dukes Chamber-door, to see who goes in and out. We cannot be too careful and circumspect in this regard. I cannot chuse but laugh, to see how some of our Coat have accoutred themselves; you would scarce know them, if you saw them; and 'tis admirable how in speech and gesture they act the Puritans. The Cambridge-Scholars, to their woful experience, shall see we can act the Puritans a little better than they have done the Jesuits. They have abused our sacred Patron Ignatius in jest; but we will make them smart in earnest. I hope you will excuse my merry digression: for I confess to you, I am at this time transported with joy, to see how happily all instruments and means, as well great as less, cooperate to our purposes, &c.

After the dissolution of the Parliament, Anno 1628, some refractory Members were sent for to the Council-Table; Mr. Hollis, Sir John Elliot, Sir Miles Hobart, Sir Peter Hayman, Sir Jo. Barrington, Mr Selden, Mr. Stroud another of the five Members, Mr. Corretton, Mr. Valentine, Mr. Long, Mr. Kirton. Hollis was questioned, Why on the day the Parliament was dissolved, he placed himself next the Speakers

*Speakers Chair.* He answered, That he had seated himself there formerly, and took it his due to be there, as in any place whatsoever, (unless at the Council-Table, to sit above those Privy-Counsellors): That he came into the House with as good intention to serve his Majesty as any other; yet finding his Majesty offended, he humbly desired to be the Subject rather of his Majesties mercy than his power. The Lord Treasurer replied, You mean, rather of his Majesties mercy than his justice. I say (answered Hollis) of his Majesties power; my Lord. Hobart's offence was for locking the Parliaments doors, and putting the Key in his pocket. Which (he said) was the command of the House. The rest were questioned for reproving the Speaker when he came to do the Kings command. To which they pleaded Priviledge of Parliament. But they were all imprisoned, and fined at the Kings-bench-bar, and gave 2000 L. security for good behaviour. But this was the first Seed which took root in Parliament, and brought forth bitter Fruits. And these things manent altâ mente reposta. For,

Before the calling of the long Parliament in 41, the factious Party, who were disappointed in the former Parliament, and had been questioned for their insolencies, kept together in a secret Committee in London; foreseeing that

The necessity of his Majesties affairs would re-  
 quire another Parliament. For they had ana-  
 mated the Scots to an *Insurrection*, with whom  
 they had constant correspondence; for which  
 his Majesty charged the five Members at the  
 beginning of that Parliament, having suffi-  
 cient evidence against them, if the iniquity of  
 the times had not obstructed the course of  
 Justice. This Committee made it their busi-  
 ness, not onely by Letters and Correspondents  
 but by riding into several Counties, to pro-  
 mote the Election of such persons as were  
 disaffected both to the Church and Government  
 and upon promises of reforming the Church  
 and redressing Grievances in the State, they  
 prevailed in most places to chuse such Mem-  
 bers as were of their own Persuasion. That  
 which added both fuel and fire to that flame  
 which in time caused a general Conflagration  
 of the three Nations, was the zeal of some  
 popular and factious Preachers, whose Pulpits  
 were as so many Trumpets sounding an Alarm  
 to War: the pretences were then, as they are  
 now, the fears of Popery, and Arbitrary Go-  
 vernment. By these means they obtained a  
 prevalent Party in that Parliament, who were  
 no sooner met, but they made it their busi-  
 ness to purge the Houses of disaffected and  
 malignant Lords and Commons. Mr. Hol-  
 lis was sent to the House of Lords to demand

the

the names of the *dissenting Lords*; whom they *posted up*, to expose them to the fury of the Rabble, which in *great tumults* they drew from the *City* to the *Kings Palace* and the *Parliament-doors*, to hinder the access of the *Loyal Party*: and when any such came, the *Rabble* cried, *Make Rome, Rome* for such or such a person: and in a short time they had driven the *King* from his *Palace*, and all the *Loyal Party* from *both Houses*.

And now the *Pulpits* sound with Prayers for their *mortal Gods* and *Saviours*, and for the *Parliament* of their prayers. The *Religious* and *Loyal Clergie* were ejected; about forty *Doctors of Divinity*, and many hundreds of *learned* and *grave Divines*, for no other crime but their *Loyalty* and *good Benefices*; of which a *Treatise* called *Persecutio Undecima*, gives a particular account: against whom the chief *Articles* were, for preaching *Obedience to the King*, against *Sacriledge* and *Rebellion*, and for keeping their *Parish-Churches*; for reading the *Liturgie*, and *bowing* at the Name of *Jesus*; for *having Popish Books*, or being *seen* in the *company of Papists*. Inasmuch as Mr. *Selden*, one of their Members, said to a *Person of Honour*, That *Learning* and *Honesty* were sins enough in a *Clergie-man*, to *undo* him. The reputation of being *Popish Priests*, or but *Cæsar's Friends*, was crime enough.

nough. One Mr. *White* published his *Centuries of sequestred and ejected Ministers*, laying to their charge such things as were never attempted to be proved against them. And it was observed at that time, that he was greatly troubled in Conscience for abusing and ruining so many Clergy-men, and died in a distracted condition: which hitherto I have not seen or heard to be contradicted. Certain it is, that none of them had any one point of *Popery* proved against them. The Lord *Fairfax* accused Dr. *Cofens*, then Vice-chancellor of *Cambridge*, that he had perverted a young man to *Popery*: but upon examination, it was found that he had expelled the person that perverted him from the University; and some who were then *Members of the Parliament*, testified as much in behalf of the Doctor. Whereupon, after some weeks imprisonment, he was set free; and no man gave better proof of his aversion to *Popery*, both in the time of his *exile*, and after his *return*, than that *eminent Doctor* did. So unhappy have the *Fanatick Party* always been, to impeach them most as being *Popishly inclined*, who have given the greatest demonstration of their *opposition* to it. But to return:

If they wanted any *numbers* to petition for what they had in designe, or any *money* to  
begin



begin the Wars; Mr. Pym and some other of the five Members, were sent into the City; who in conjunction with some eminent Preachers, such as Mr. Marshall, Calamy, &c. by their long Speeches and fair pretences, deceived the hearts, and opened the purses of the deluded people. From hence came those Tumults that petitioned against the Bishops and Popish Lords, and for the bringing the Earl of Strafford and the Archbishop to their Tryals. The good Lord of Essex said, *He never knew but one Bishop, (viz. Bishop Williams, who betrayed his Lord and Master) that stood for the good of the Commonwealth.* As for the rest, Mr. Nathaniel Fiennes made a large Speech, to shew that *Episcopacy was an Enemy to Monarchy*: whereás his Father spoke and printed to the contrary, *That the Bishops were too much devoted to the King.* And the young Gentleman was (not long after) condemned by Martial Law.

Now that the *Papists* had a great hand in our Troubles at home (as well as in Scotland) doth clearly appear from the Testimony of Sir Edward Cooke, and other Transactions already mentioned. But it will yet more evidently appear, that the Popish Party were chief Agents in animating the English Rebels, with whom they held correspondence to that end, by the discovery made to

Sir

Sir W. Boswel by one *Andreas ab Habernsfeld*, and communicated to the Archbishop, September 6. 1640. Which Relation Mr. Prynne found among the Archbishops Papers, and caused it to be printed by Order of a Committee of the House of Commons. Mr. Prynne urgeth many Arguments to evince the truth of that Plot, and says, That not onely he, but the Parliament, as well as the King and Archbishop, did believe it; and that he must be a Monster of incredulity that doth not believe it.

The particulars of the discovery that are most to our purpose, are as follow:

1. That the Discoverer was bred a *Papist*, and an *Ecclesiastick*, and judged a fit person to be Coadjutor to Con the Popes Nuntio, by Cardinal Barbarino, who under the Pope was made President of the Congregation of Jesuits in England, for propagation of Religion. But the horreur of this Plot, which was to destroy the King and the Archbishop, and involve three Nations in Blood, so troubled his Conscience, that he not onely discovered the Plot, but forsook the Religion that allowed of such bloody practices.

2. That from Con he received and dispatched all the intelligence concerning the Plot, which was communicated to Con from a Consult of political Jesuits which met privately in the Province of Wales.
3. That

3. That there were at least fifty *Scotish Jesuits* at that time in and about *London*. That one *Maxwell* a *Scotish Earl* and *Papist*, was sent into *Scotland* by the *Popish Party*, with whom two other *Scotish Earls* were Correspondents ; whose business it was to excite the *Scots* to a *Rebellion*, by aggravating the Actions of the *English Court*, particularly the punishment of *Prynne*, *Burton*, and *Bastwick*, and the imposing of the *English Liturgie* on them.

4. That a Chaplain of *Hamiltons* (the Kings Commissioner) had often secret conference with *Con* : concerning whom, the Informer asking merrily whether the *Jews* also agreed with the *Samaritans*, *Con* replied, *I would to God all Ministers were like him.*

5. That Cardinal *Richlieu* sent Mr. *Tba. Chamberlain* his Chaplain and Almoner, to whom a Bishoprick was promised, into *Scotland* ; who tarried there four months, and was not to return till he brought good news.

6. That Sir *Toby Matthews* a politick *Jesuit*, did diligently enquire, and transmit Intelligence to *Rome*.

7. That in the house of one Capt. *Read* was a constant meeting of the *Jesuits* every *Post-day*, where they received Letters from *Rome*, and made returns in feigned names.

8. That

8. That Mr. Porter and Windebank, the Lord Arundel and his Countess, the Countess of Buckingham, and others, were privy to the Plot, and betrayed the Kings Counsels.

Upon the whole, Mr. Prynne makes these remarks: *That the Conspirators have almost brought their designe to maturity, to our shame and grief, by new-raised Civil Wars, both in England and Ireland, ( but he adds not a word of Scotland ) : That Secretary Windebank, and Captain Read, with some others, went secretly into Ireland to raise a Rebellion there; who assured them that there would be such Broils in England, that no Force could be sent thence. But not a word yet of what was done in Scotland, where they were in actual Arms against the King, and ceased not till they had effected the death of the Archbishop and the King, as this discovery had foretold.*

I shall adde an Observation of Hammond L'Estrange. *The Presbyterian Party ( faith he ) were not the onely men in the Conspiracy: for in case of general disturbances, nothing is more familiar than for several Factions of contrary inclinations and interests to unite, aiming at their own severall ends. And a foul blemish it would have been to the Society of Jesus, should they have sate still in a work so proper to their Employment, as these Scottish Broils:*

Broils: Though they did not reach at the *external glory* of the Enterprize, which they rendred to the *Presbyterians*; yet were they as diligent in their *Machinations* as possibly they could be, hoping to be *greatest gainers at last*. But the *Jesuits* had done their business, having set their *Journey-men* at work both in *England* and *Scotland*; and they were ready as *Auxiliaries* to assist them: to which end they *mix themselves* with the *Councils* and *Armies* both of *England* and *Scotland*, obstructing all *Overtures* and *Treaties* of Peace. It was not for any love to the *King* or his *Cause*, that some few of them engaged with his Party, but to help on the *publick Calamity* of the two Nations, and to keep on the Wars, that they might raise themselves on the ruins of both Parties. For, that there were more *Papists* engaged with the *Parliament-Armies* than the *King's*, appears by his Majesties Declaration after the Fight at *Edg-hill*, Oct. 1643. All men know the great number of *Papists Commanders* and others that serve in their Armies, the great industry they used to corrupt the Loyalty and affection of Our loving Subjects of that Religion, the private promises and undertakings that they made if they would assist them against Us; all the Laws made in their prejudice should be repealed; when nothing could prevail with Us to invite them

them to Our Succour, or recal Our Proclamation which forbade them so to do. We know that a far greater number of Papists are in their Army than Our own. And one Robert de Salmonet a Popish Priest and Scotish man, who wrote a History of our Wars in French, saith of this Fight, That which most surprised every one, was, that they found among the dead at Edge-hill several Popish Priests: For although in their Declarations they called the Kings Army a Popish Army, to render it odious; yet they had in their Army two Companies of Walloons, and other Roman Catholicks. And they omitted no endeavours to ingage Sir Arthur Ashton, an eminent Roman Catholick, to their party.

In Mr. Prynnes Relation of the Tryal of the Archbishop, one Mr. Chaloner was produced, who deposed, that he being at Brussels, and discoursing with an English Traveller, heard him to affirm, that Popery would be brought into England, and the Introducers should be the Protestants themselves: whereat when he wondred, the Gentleman told him, that the War should be so disguised under false notions and pretences, as that the Protestants should ignorantly become the Jesuits servants, and by the effusion of their own blood set up Popery, p. 415. And because Mr. Prynne mentioned some persons sent into Ireland, to stir up the Rebellion there,

here, I shall mention also that which the King says of it in his *Chapter* of that *Rebellion*: *I believe* (saith he) *it will at last appear, that they who first began to embroil my other Kingdoms, are in great part guilty, if not of the first letting out, yet of the not timely stopping those horrid effusions of blood in Ireland.* And it was observed, that when the Design against the Earl of *Strafford*, as also against the King, was managing, there was a great correspondence between the Leaders of *both parties in Ireland*; of which the Author of the *History of Independencie* gives so large an account, that I shall only select *some passages*, and refer the Reader to see the whole Transaction at his leasure, in the *History of Independency*, p. 150, 198, p. 230. &c. 245.

But I shall first insert that which the *Royal Martyr* hath said in his own vindication concerning the *Irish Rebellion*.

*That Sea of Blood, which hath there been cruelly and barbarously shed, is enough to drown any man in eternal both infamy and misery whom God shall find the malicious Author or instigator of its effusion. Some men take it very ill not to be believed, when they affirmed that what the Irish Rebels did, was done with my privity, at least, if not by my Commission. But these knew too well, that it is no news for some of my Subjects to fight not only without my Commission,*

but against my Command and Person too ; yet all the while to pretend they fight by my authority, and for my safety. I would to God the Irish had nothing to alleadge for their imitation against those whose blame must needs be the greater, by how much Protestant principles are more against all Rebellion than those of Papists. Nor will the goodness of mens intentions excuse the scandal and contagion of their examples. It is thought by many wise men, that the preposterous rigour and unreasonable severity, which some men carried before them in England, was not the least incentive that kindled and blew into those horrid flames, which wanted not pre-disposed fuel for Rebellion in Ireland, where despair being added to their former discontent and their fears of utter extirpation to their wonted oppressions, it was easie to provoke to an open Rebellion, a people prone enough to break out to all exorbitant violence, both by some principles of their Religion, and the natural desires of liberty. I would to God no man had been less affected with Irelands sad estate than my self. I offered to go in person on that expedition: but some men were afraid I should have any one Kingdom quieted ; or loath they were to shoot at any mark here less than my self, so that any should have the glory of my destruction on but themselves. Had my many offers been accepted, I am confident neither the ruine had been



been so great, nor the calamity so long, nor the remedy so desperate. So that next to the sin of those that began that Rebellion, theirs must needs be, who either hindered the speedy suppression of it by domestick Dissentions, or diverted the Aids, or exasperated the Rebels to the most desperate resolutions and actions, by threatening extremities not only to the known Heads and chief Incendiaries, but to the whole Community of that Nation. When at the earnest intreaty of the chief of the Protestant party there, I effected a Cessation in the best sort that the necessary difficulty of affairs would permit, I was then to suffer again in my reputation and honour, because I suffered not the Rebels utterly to devour the remaining handfuls of the Protestants there. I believe it will at last appear, that they who first began to embroil my other Kingdoms, are in great part guilty, if not of the first letting out, yet of the not timely stopping those horrid effusions of blood in Ireland. Thus far the Royal Martyr.

Sir William Parsons said at a public meeting, That within 12 months, no Catholic should be seen in Ireland.

And whether the examples of England and Scotland imbroyling those two Kingdoms, and proceeding successfully in the Wars against the King, did not animate the Irish to those horrid proceedings, as in the Irish Letter mentioned in the Introduction, is

*sub Judice.* The following transactions, under the *Parliament* and *Cromwel*, are a more clear evidence of an actual conjunction with the *Irish Rebels* against the King.

Sir *John Temple* was of the Privy Council in *Ireland*, at the Insurrection and after; a person that thought himself *disobliged* by the King. a *Parliament*-man here in *England*, and one that too much adhered to the *Faction*. He is confident that the chief aim of the *Irish* was to shake off the *English* yoke, and settle the power in the *Natives*. One *Cooke* deposed, that *Tirlogh Brady* said, That the *Irish* would within a fortnight have a King of their own, p. 83. & 66. p. 50, 51. The same was deposed by others. As was also, That they took the Scots for a president: they would have the Kingdom in their own hands, Laws of their own, a Deputy of their own, without molestation from another Nation, p. 19. That they cared not for King Charles, having a King of their own. In the Remonstrance, p. 54. they called *Tyrone* their King; and his Commission, the *Kings Commission*. They affirmed the Scots to be of their side, p. 37. That they had the Earl of *Argyles* hand, and most of the Nobility of Scotland.

*Macguire*, a chief contriver of the *Rebellion*, falling into the *Parliaments* power, was much importun'd by promises and threats to dis-

discover *whether the King were privy to the Rebellion*: but he did still acquit the *King* and *all other English* from being guilty as much as of *knowing* it. And it is very remarkable, that he did this not only while he was under a sentence of *Condemnation*; but when he had been turned off the *Cart*, and recovered again after a most barbarous manner, yet still he acquitted the *King* to his death, and denied that ever he saw any *Commission* from him.

And whereas the *King* was accused of granting them a *Toleration*: it is true, that he was necessitated to *offer* that, which they had *forced* from him before; but it was with such *restrictions*, that they liked it not, but took it on their *own terms*. And indeed the *King* told them by one of his Secretaries; *You insist on something in Religion more than formerly you were contented with; I am therefore commanded to let you know, that were His Majesties condition much lower, you shall never force him to any further Concessions, to the prejudice of his Conscience, and of the Protestant Religion, in which he is resolved to live, and for which he is ready to dye: and that he will joyn with any Protestant Prince; nay, with his Rebels at home, rather than yield the least to you in this particular.* And this was the joint opinion of the *Papists* in *England* and *Ire-*

land, that the King would give them all up as a Sacrifice, to compass a *Peace* with his *Parliament*, though they had been *Loyal* to him in his extremity.

The Marquess of *Ormond*, and those that acted for the King under his Lieutenancy in *Ireland*, was so prosperous in his endeavours to reduce that Kingdom to the obedience of the *Crown*, that a *Peace* was made with the most considerable of the *Confederate Irish*. But they being otherwise tampered with by the *Parliament-party*, contrary to their Faith and promise, the *Popes Nuntio*, and some *Irish Clergy* prevailed with the *Ulster-Irish* under *Owen Roe Oneale*, to refuse to come under the *Kings Authority*.

Of which the Author of *the History of Independency*, p. 150. of the Second part, tells us in the Margent, that the *Council of Officers* endeavour to joyn interests with the *Papists* in *England* and *Ireland*: And then says, *The King had offended the Papists in the last Treaty, in granting so much to the Parliament for their suppression. The Independents perceiving it, and willing to joyn with any interest to make good their design, it was proposed at the Council of Officers, that the Papists should raise and pay Ten thousand additional Forces for the Army; in recompence whereof, all penal Laws concerning them should be repealed, all Taxes*

*Taxes and Contributions taken off, and they to have the protection of the Parliament and Army. Under the same notion they endeavoured to joyn interests with Owen Roe Oneale, who commanded that bloody party of Massacring Irish, with which they had formerly taxed the King. They supplied him with Ammunition, and admitted O Rely the Popes Irish Nuntio to a Treaty here in England. Sir John Winter was taken into imprisonment, and the arrears of his Rent gathered for him by Souldiers, to the regret of the Country; Sir Kenelme Digby had a Pass to come into England, and came, as he was foretold by a Letter, by an Independent Agent for the Army from Paris, to an Independent Member of the House of Commons, a creature of the Army, dated 28 November, 1648 and printed at the later end of The true and full relation of the Officers and Armies forcible seizing of divers eminent Members. Walter Mountague was let forth on bail.*

*What becomes of this Negotiation, & whether those that played fast and loose with all interests in the Kingdom, have not done the like with the Papists, this Author shews in the following relation: for p. 198. he says, the under-hand combination between the Independent party and Owen Roe Oneale, is now openly declared and apowed by their own licensed News books: Owen Roe, and Colonel M. are*

joyned, says the modest Narrative. Our party have permitted Three hundred of Oneale's own Regiment to quarter in our parts among the Creats, within two miles of Dundalk, saith the Scout. Owen Roe and Berne are come toward Colonel Jones and Colonel M.'s quarters: he is so fair as to pay Contribution: his quarters are to the Scots side of Dublin, to prevent their giving aid to Ormond in his attempt upon Dublin. Who can blame necessity? Nor do our Grandees now deny this Confederacy with the bloody Popish Massacring Rebels, although they had the impudence to make the only supposition thereof, one of the principal charges against the late King, and to raise a great outcry against the Marquess of Ormond, and Lord Inchiquine, for their cessation with Preston; which was to prevent the Cromwellists, who offered to associate with him on conditions much more prejudicial to the Protestant Religion and English interest, than the Marquess gave them: they offered Oneale all the Lands in Ulster forfeited by his Grandfather Tyrone, Shan Oneale, and others attainted, thereby destroying the British Planters there, &c. P. 230. He refers to a paper called *The Association between Oneale, &c.* And another called *The true state of the Transactions with Owen Roe Oneale, as it was reported to the Parliament by the Council of State*: printed by Edw. Husband,

*bands*, 15 Aug. 1649. This was so abhorred by the English Souldiery, that many there took occasion to forsake the English Parliament, and many here disbanded rather than they would accompany *Cromwel* in so wicked an Expedition; and I doubt not but the imposing on some of the Independent Officers such a vile drudgery, did so much dissatisfie them, as to make them, after they had extricated themselves from their toyls, to bethink themselves how they might serve a better Master. I shall therefore beg pardon for transcribing the progress of this affair, referring the Reader to the former Quotations.

*Cromwel* writes Letters to his Creatures of the *Council of State*, complaining how much the miscarriage of that agreement had retarded his voyage; desiring them, for satisfaction of the Souldiery and people, to treat with some body to take the whole business on himself, and to clear the *Council of State*, the *Parliament*, and *Cromwel himself*, from having any hand in it. And to carry on the Scene, this Agreement was with much heat of zeal complained of in the *House of Commons* by a *Brother*, who had his Cue beforehand, and by the *Juncto* was referred to the *Council of State*, as was forelaid; where after some private conference with him whom they

they had intrusted to accommodate the business, they publickly voted their dislike of it; *Bradshaw* reprehending him for it; and at last they ordered that the whole business, with the reasons for his justification, should be reported by *Tho. Scot* to the *House of Commons*: which was done on Friday *Aug. 10.* whereupon their *Commissioner* was called to the *Bar*, where the *Speaker* asked him *What persons he meant in his Letter to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, wherein he saith, he made the agreement with Oneale with the advice of some others.* He answered, *That he did it on his own score,* (for so he was intrusted and cautioned before; and his life had been in danger, if he had done otherwise without advice of any; only having discourse with *Colonel Jones*, he told him if he could keep *Owen Roe* and *Ormond* from joyning, it would be a good Service. This Answer was taken for satisfactory. The next demand was, *Whether he had any advice or directions from the Parliament, Council of State, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, or any other person to do the same;* which he expressly denyed, saying, *He did it on his own score.* Whereupon the House Voted, Resolved, &c. *That the House doth utterly disapprove of the proceedings of Colonel M. in the Treaty and Cessation (as they called it) made between him and O-*



wen Roe Oneale ; and that this House doth detest thoughts of any closing with any Party of Popish Rebels there, who have had their hands in shedding English Bloud. Nevertheless, the House being satisfied that what the said Colonel did therein was in his apprehension necessary for the preservation of the Parliaments interest, the House is content that the farther consideration thereof, as to him, be laid aside, and shall not at any time hereafter be called in question.

Upon these proceedings the Author notes,

1. The Armies Doctrine and Use of apprehended necessity and good intentions, to justify evil actions, approved of by this Parliament.
2. This Agreement, though it were twelve weeks before publicly known in England, and divulged in licensed News-books, was never scrupled, until that first the said Agreement was expired. And,
3. That Oneale was so beaten by the Lord Inchiquine, that (as their News-books said) he was *inconsiderable*, and must suddenly joyn with Ormond, or be destroyed.
4. That these Votes call this Agreement but a *Treaty* and *Cessation*, which was a *League offensive and defensive* against Ormond, Inchiquine, and all that upheld Monarchy.

For which the Author gives these Reasons : Because the second Article says, *That*

*on all occasions both Parties be ready to assist one another, till a more absolute Agreement be made by the Parliament of England. And the third Article saith, That the Creats of Ulster residing in the Quarters of the Parliaments Army, shall pay Contribution to General Owen Oneale, ( which is a granting of Taxes against Law ) and it seems Oneale became a Mercenary, being taken into pay. Article the fourth saith, That if Oneale shall happen to fight against the Forces under Ormond, Inchiquine, or other Enemies of the Parliament, and thereby spend his Ammunition; if he be near to their Quarters, and want Ammunition, they shall then furnish him. This was actually performed, when Inchiquine besieged Dundalk. The fifth Article allowed Oneale the use of any Harbours within their liberty.*

By which Premises we may rationally conclude, that the *Factions* are not so averse from the *most bloody Papists*, but if occasion require, they are ready to joyn interest with them, to maintain their *Good Old Cause* against the *Crown and Church of England*; which will farther appear, by the *Correspondency and Agents* which the *successive Parties* that were uppermost maintained in *foreign parts*, to betray the present *Kings Counsels* while he was in banishment; for which Man-

ning a *Papist* was executed : for whom many *Dirgies* were sung in several Churches.

And when his Majesty was invited into Scotland, the Marquess of *Huntly*, and other *Lords* and *Heads* of the *Popish Faction*, made a great Party to oppose his Reception, unless he would grant a *Toleration* of their Religion. But the *Presbyterian Party* having then the greatest power, admitted him on such terms as they thought fit ; and served him no longer than they could serve their own designs.

For the clearer manifestation of the ASSOCIATION between *Oneale* and the Parliament, there are lately come to the Council of State (saith the Author of the *Hist. of Ir. depend.* p. 245.) two Letters out of *Conaught* from Sir *Charles Coote*, dated the 14th and 15th of August (49) informing them with how much zeal to the Parliaments interest *Owen Oneale* had freely raised the Siege of *London-derry*. On which Letters, and the Votes and Proceedings of *Pride's Parliament*, I commend to the Readers observation these particulars : First, the 15th of August the Letters inform them that *Oneale* freely offered his assistance to *Coote*, professing much affection to the Parliament of England, and an earnest desire to maintain their interest. He had formerly stiled the Parliament, *Monstrous Parliament*.

liamentum; but now the case is altered, he calls them the Honourable Parliament, as driving his interest against Monarchy and Protestantism. In the Letter of the 14th, he informs the Parliament that he hath found Oneale and his Army very punctual and faithful in all their promises and engagements, and makes no doubt but they will continue so to the end. The 16th of August, he says that Oneale in his Express to Coote inclosed some Letters received from Col. M. and among the rest a Copy of a Letter in answer to a Letter of the Lord Inchiquine, charging the Colonel for joining with Oneale and his party; wherein the Colonel insinuated as if Oneale's submission to the Parliaments power, were already accepted by them. In that of the 15th, Coote hath this expression in his Letter: --- Calling to mind that it is no new thing for the most wise God to make use of wicked Instruments to bring about a good designe. Aug. 15. the Letter says that Coote called a Council of War, and resolved it was better to accept of the Assistance of those who proclaimed themselves Friends to us, and our interest we fight for. The same Letter says, that we added to the Article the proviso, Not use their Assistance longer than the approbation of the State of England should go along with us therein. In that of the 14th, Coote says Oneale was pleased to

communicate to him certain proposals, which were long since transmitted to the Parliament ; and though for his part, and the prime Officers with him, they do not doubt but the proposals are already yielded to by the State ; yet in regard their Army and party in all other parts of the Kingdom cannot be satisfied therewith till the Parliament declare more publickly therein, he hath therefore desired me humbly to intreat your Lordships to declare your Resolutions therein with as much speed as may be. And in a Vote of Parliament, it's said, The House is well satisfied of the diligence, faithfulness, and integrity of Sir Charles Coote, in preserving the Garison of London-derry. Which ( says my Author ) was preserved by the conjunction of Oneale, who raised the Siege.

But to return to *England*, where, though the *Jesuits* and *Priests* did not appear so visibly as in the Wars of *Ireland*, yet that they had great influence on the *Councils* and *Armies* of the *Fanaticks*, from the beginning to the end of the War, is industriously proved by Mr. *Prynne* in several books, especially in his *Introduction to the Archbishop's Tryal*, and in *Romes Master-piece ; Works of Darkneß brought to light ; The Royal Favourite, &c.*

The first War begun with the clamour of *Popery* : That it was admitted not onely at the Court, but into the Church ; particularly  
that

that the King was a great favourer of *Papists*; and the House of Commons instance in one *Goodman* a Romish Priest, who was condemned at the *Sessions* in the *Old-baily*. Whereupon the House remonstrates, *That it was more necessary to put the Laws in execution at that time, than in any before: That at that time divers Petitions from several parts of the Kingdom, complained of the great increase of Popery and Superstition; and the people call earnestly to have the Laws put in execution.* ( When these *Petitions* were promoted by their own *Members*; and that *Decency* which was used in the *Church*, the *Superstition* and *Popery* which they remonstrated against: but not one word of putting the Laws in execution against the *Separatists*. ) 2. *That Priests and Jesuits swarmed in great numbers: That of late years about the City of London, Priests and Jesuits have been discharged out of prison: That the Pope had then a Nuntio in the City: The great resort to Mass at Demark-house: That on the reprieve of Goodman, the City of London refused the advance of Money for supply of his Majesties Army, for that reason. Therefore they desire that Goodman may be left to Justice.*

To this the King answered: *Concerning Goodman, that he being found guilty onely at being a Priest, on which account neither King*  
James

James nor Queen Elizabeth put any to death, he did reprove him ; desiring them to consider the inconvenience that may fall on his Subjects and other Protestants abroad, by executing of such severity. That he will put the Laws in execution against Popery and Superstition, the increase whereof was much against his mind : That he would speedily issue out a Proclamation for all Priests and Jesuits to depart the Kingdom within one month, or to be proceeded against according to Law. As for Rosetti the Popes Nuntio, that he had no commission, but was onely to correspond between the Queen and the Pope ; which was warranted by Articles of Marriage : yet he had perswaded her to dismiss him within a time, to take away the offence. That he would restrain the resort of Papists to Denmark-house, and the Chappels of Embassadours.

But instead of being satisfied with these Answers, four Members of Parliament acquaint the Lords of a monstrous designe of the Papists ; an Army of fifteen thousand in Lancashire, eight thousand Irish Papists under the Earl of Strafford, and many thousands in divers other places, well armed, and payed by the Earl of Worcester. Of which, Sander-son in the Life of King Charles, says, p. 360. After-Ages will think these Hyperboles ; there being no such Armies possible by them, nor no

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such

*such fears in others.* Yet this *Message* was carried from the *Lower* to the *Upper House* and gave occasion to a multitude of people to frame *Petitions* futable to *Plots, Fears, and Jealousies*, for the *Parliaments* purpose. An *Alderman Pennington*, with some hundred of the *Rabble*, presents a *Petition* in the name of fifteen thousand *Citizens*, against *Bishops* and their *Jurisdiction*.

How little they cared for *Religion*, though their *actions* sufficiently declared, yet their *expressions* were not wanting. A *Great Creature* of theirs said modestly, That *they* had power enough to take the *Crown* from the *King* if the *Gospel* did not hinder them: but they did it with a *Non Obstante*. *Mr. Hambden* being asked by a *Minister* in the beginning of the *War*, *Why Religion was made a cause* it: answered, *Because the people would not suffer else.* But *H. Martyn* told them in the *House* *They need not lye for a good Cause; it was not Religion, but Liberty they fought for.* And so little did some of them value their *Religion*, that as *Col. Morley* and others with him said, *They would cast themselves upon any Nation, even the Turk, rather than let the King subdue them.*

*Mr. B.'s Key for Catholicks* mentioneth several of the *Popish* *designes*; which (saith he) are grounded on this *Maxime*, That the



foundation must be Mutation, which will cause a Relaxation, and serve as so many violent Diseases, as Stone or Gout, to a speedy Destruction, p. 318. Upon which he adds this Consultation of the Jesuits : We shall necessitate the Puritan Protestants to keep the King as Prisoner, or else to put him to death. If they keep him as a Prisoner, his diligence and friends, and their own divisions, will either work his deliverance, and give him the day again by our help, or at least will keep the State in a perpetual unsettledness, and will bring an odium on them : or if they cut him off, which we will rather promote, lest they should make use of his extremities to any advantage ; then first we shall procure the odium of King killing to fall on them, which they are wont to cast upon us, and so shall be able to disburthen our selves. Secondly, And we shall have them all to pieces in Distractions : for they will either set up a new King, or the Parliament will keep the power, changing the Government into a Democracy. The first cannot be done without great Concussions, and new Wars ; and we shall have an opportunity to have a hand in all : and if it be done, it may be much to our advantage. The second will apparently, by Factions and Distractions, give us footing for continual attempts. But to make all sure, we will have our footing among the Puritans too, that we may be sure to

*maintain our interest, which way soever the world goes.* This was the Frame of the *Papists Plot*.

In the next page, he tells us of the Letters of the Agents of the *Agitators* in France, published in the *weekly News-books*, commending the *Jesuits* for good men, and how agreeable they were to them in their Principles for a Democracy; and what meet Materials for such a Commonwealth the *Jesuits* would be. *The Agencies of particular men with Jesuits* (he says) *I purposely omit*, p. 320. Mr. *Baxter* doubtless knew more than he mentions; he had an *Idea* of all their *Plots* and *Principles* in's own brain. And, p. 329. *faith, It is opened by many in print, how far the Jesuits crept into all Societies under the name of Independents.* He tells us a story of one that came from *Scotland*, pretending himself a *Jew*, who gave the *Anabaptists* the glory of his *Conversion*, and was rebaptized at *Hexham*; but was discovered at *Newcastle* to be a *Jesuit*. The whole story is in print. And p. 321. he acquaints us that *Sexby* and others of the Army, did confederate with *Spain* to murder *Cromwel*, when they found that he attempted to make himself a King. And hereupon it was that *Cromwel* took distaste at the *Papists*, and prevailed to make an Act with this Preamble, *Anno 1656. Forasmuch*

as there is a great increase of Popish Recusants within this Commonwealth, by reason whereof great danger may follow to the Commonwealth, they being persons very active in mischievous Plots and Conspiracies, &c. This doubtless was well known by Cromwel, who had made great use of them to effect his mischievous designs.

Peter du Moulin in his Answer to *Philanax Anglicus*, p. 59. observes, that a year before the Kings death, a select number of English Jesuits were sent from their Party in England, first to Paris, to consult with the Faculty of Sorbone, who were then wholly Jesuited, about this Question: *Whether seeing the State of England was in a likely posture to change Government, it was lawful for the Catholicks to work that change, for the advancing and securing the Catholick Cause in England, by making away the King, whom there was no hope to turn from his Heresie.* This was answered affirmatively; after which, the same persons went to Rome, where the same Question being propounded and debated, it was concluded by the Pope, *That it was both lawful and expedient for the Catholicks to promote that alteration of State, &c.* When that horrid Parricide had taken effect, the Pope commanded all the Papers about that Question to be gathered, and burnt: In obedience to

which Order, a Roman Catholick in *Paris* was demanded a Copy which he had of these Papers : but the Gentleman, who had time to consider and detest the wickedness of that Project, refused to give it, and shewed it to a Protestant friend of his, relating to him the whole carriage of this Negotiation, with great abhorrence of the Practices of the *Jesuits*. And when these *Jesuits* returned from *Rome*, they brought many more after them, to help on the *same Work* ; which at last they effected, to their great joy.

The Roman Priest and Confessor is known, who when he saw the fatal stroak given to our *holy King* and *Martyr*, flourished with his Sword, and said, *Now the greatest Enemy that we had in the world is gone*. A Protestant Lady living in *Paris*, was perswaded by a *Jesuit* to turn Catholick : when the dismal news of the King's Murther came to *Paris*, this Lady, as all other good Subjects, was deeply afflicted with it ; and when this *Jesuite* came to see her, and found her melted in Tears for that Disaster, he told her with a smiling countenance, *That she had no reason to lament, but rejoyce rather, seeing the Catholicks were rid of their greatest Enemy, and that Cause was much furthered by his death*. Upon which the Lady in great anger put him down the stairs, saying, *If that be your Religion, I have*

have done with you for ever : and God hath given her grace to make her words good hitherto. Many intelligent Travellers can tell of the great joy among the *English Convents* and *Seminaries* about the Kings death, as having overcome their Enemy, and done their main work for their settlement in *England* : of which they made themselves so sure, that the *Benedictines* were in great care, that the *Jesuits* should not get their Land : and the *English Nuns* were contending who should be *Abbesses* in *England*. An understanding Gentleman visiting the Fryars in *Dunkirk*, put them on the discourse of the King's death ; and to pump out their sence about it, said, That the *Jesuits* had laboured very much to compass that work. To which they answered, That the *Jesuits* would ingross to themselves the glory of all great and good works, and of this among others ; whereas they had laboured as diligently and effectually for it as they. So that both the *Jesuits* and *Seculars* had laboured to bring the King to death : and the Army of *Fanaticks* were their *Instruments* to put it in execution.

*Monfieur de Bourdeaux* the French Embassadour, being resident in *London* when General *Monk* had gotten the power of the City, and the affections of the *People*, earnestly desired to interest the King of *France* and

Cardinal *Mazarine* in the *Revolution of Government*; and made way for an *Address* to the *General*, by his Brother-in-law *Clergis*; to whom he imparted, that Cardinal *Mazarine* would be glad to have the honour of his *friendship*, and assist him faithfully in all his *Enterprizes*: and that the *General* might be more confident of the *Cardinal*, he assured him that *Oliver Cromwel* kept so strict a *League* with him, that he did not assume the *Government* without *his privity*, and was directed *step by step* by him in the progress of that action: and therefore if he resolved on *that course*, he should not onely have the *Cardinals friendship* and *counsel* in the attempt, but a *safe Retreat* and *honourable Support* in *France*, if he failed in it. But Mr. *Clergis* assured him, that the *General* did not intend to take the *Government* upon him, but to submit all to the *determination* of the next *Parliament*.

The King being in the Territories of the King of *Spain*, when the *General* was minded to *declare for him*, Sir *Jo. Greenvil* was dispatched by the *General* to his Majesty, to desire him to depart out of the King of *Spain's* Dominions, to *Breda*, or some other place under the Government of the *States of the United Provinces*; for that he had *certain intelligence* he would be detained by the King

of *Spain's* Ministers, if he staid in his Dominions. Upon which *Advice*, within two or three days he went to *Breda*, where he continued till he was invited to his Kingdoms.

There was found in the Study of *Francis Young*, after his death, a *Paper* containing *Advices* given to him by Seignior *Bellarini* concerning the best way of managing the *Popish interest* in *England* upon the Kings *Restauration*. The first *Advice* is, to make the *obstruction* of *Settlement* their great designe, especially upon the *fundamental Constitutions* of the Kingdom; whereunto if things should fall, they would be *more firm than ever*. Secondly, To remove the *Jealousies* raised by *Prynne, Baxter, &c.* of their designe upon the late *Factions*, and to set up the *prosperous* way of fears and jealousies of the *King* and *Bishops*. Thirdly, To make it appear *under-hand*, how neer the *Doctrine, Worship, and Discipline* of the Church of *England* comes to us; at how little distance their *Common-prayer* is from our *Mass*; and that the wisest and ablest men of *that Way*, are so moderate, that they would willingly *come over* to us, or at least *meet us half way*: hereby the most *stayed men* will become more *odious*, and others will *run out of all Religion*, for fear of *Popery*. Fourthly, That there be an *Indulgence* promoted by  
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the *Faction*, and seconded by *You*. Fifthly, That the *Trade* and *Treasure* of the Nation may be engrossed between *themselves* and other *discontented Parties*. Sixthly, That the *Bishops* and *Ministers* of the Church of *England* be aspersed, as either *worldly* and *careless* on one hand; or *so faction*; that it were well they were removed. All these *Directions* will appear to have been followed precisely by *both Parties*.

The *Grande*es of the *Committee* at *Derbyhouse*, and the *Army*, sollicite the detaining of the *Prince* in *France*, and *delaying* his Journy for *England*, lest he should trouble the yet-*unsettled Kingdom* of the *Saints*. To negotiate which, they have an Agent lying Lieger with Cardinal *Mazarine*, who is so well supplied with *Money*, and so *open-handed*, that it hath been heard from *Mazarine's* own mouth, that all the *Money* the *Queen* and *Prince* had cost the *Crown* of *France*, came out of the *Parliaments* Purse, with a good advantage. It is likewise said, *Mazarine* had an Agent here, to drive on the interest of *France* in *England*, *Hist. of Independ.* 2 part, p. 112. And it is known that *Cromwel's* interest with *France*, when the *present King* fled thither, after *Worcester-fight*, was so great, that he prevailed to have the *King driven thence*, to seek his safety in *other Countries*.

And



And it is credibly reported, that *Cromwel* maintained or encouraged a company of *Benedictine Monks* to betray the *Kings Counsels* : That *Manning*, who was executed beyond the Seas for disclosing the *Kings Counsels*, was a *Papist* , and had *Masses* sung for him after his death : That *Lambert*, who had been suspected as a *Papist* thirty years, with the help of a *Popish Priest* , contrived *Cromwels new Government*. And the *Jesuits* perceiving, that if the *Scotish* and *English Presbyterians* should cleerly and entirely grasp the power of the Nation, it would be a difficult task to take it out of their hands; they abetted the *Independent* party , and other growing *Setts* ; they mixed themselves with their *Counsels* and *Armies*; as *Mr. Prynne* affirmed. And a good Author says, that a *Protestant Gentleman* met with about thirty of them at one time , between *Roan* and *Diep* ; who enquiring their design, and they taking him for one of their party , was informed by them, that they were going into *England*, and would take Arms in the *Independant Army*, and endeavour to be *Agitators* : and what work those creatures made, is too well known !

Nor is it less notorious, who they were that pleaded so strenuously for *Liberty of Conscience*. Such Tracts as directly urged the  
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Toleration of *Popery*, as well as of *other Sects*, were penned and dispersed by the *Jesuits*: and the *Indulgence* granted to them by *Cromwel*, who was never known to punish any of them for their *Recusancy*, as long as they served *his interest*, argues his *connivance*, if not his *approbation* of them. By these was that Treatise of Father *Parsons* concerning the *Succession*, under the Title of *Doleman*, Reprinted, and dispersed, to keep us in *confusion*. Then it was that *White* wrote his *Jesuitical books*, and *Milton* seconded him. And the *Pamphlets* written to justify the Proceedings of the Army, were *dictated* or *written* by the *Jesuits*.

In the year 1652. *William Birchly* published a Treatise, called *The Moderator: or, Persecution for Religion condemned*. In a *Postscript* to which, he says, that *he subscribed his name according to an Order of Parliament*; yet is not ashamed to say, that *he had his Arguments from some of the Romish Priests*; for a Toleration of whom he pleads as passionately, as if a whole *Consult* of them had penned the *Pamphlet*.

And a good Author saith, he hath been credibly informed, that a *Jesuit* of *St. Omers* declared, that *they were Twenty years in hammering out the Sect of the Quakers*. And whoever considers the *Tenets* of that *Sect*, will

will easily see *whose* off-spring they are. They refuse all Oaths ; — which serves the *Jesuits* to evade the *Tests* of the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* : they despise the *Scriptures*, as the *Jesuits* do : they contemn our *Sacraments*, especially the *Eucharist*, as the *Papists* do ; vilifie the *Ministers* ; and in matters of *Doctrine* have a great analogie with the *Papists*. Dr. Oates his *Narrative* and *Depositions*, Paragraph 34. speaks of the *Jesuits* and one *Green*, with eight other *Fifth Monarchy-men*, who clubbed together for firing the City of *London*.

I have told you what *White* the *Jesuit* did, and that wretched *Milton*, *Cromwel's* Secretary, who had been at *Rome*, and in his writings speaks of great *kindness* received *there* ; and holding correspondence with some *Italians*, could have no other design in printing those books of *Divorce*, against *Tythes* and *Clergy-men*, and to justify the *Regicides*, but to bring us to *Atheism* first, and then to *Confusion*. He was by very many suspected to be a *Papist* ; and if Dr. Oates may be believed, was a known frequenter of the *Papist Club*, though he were *Cromwel's* Latine Secretary. The same Dr. tells us, that a *Party* of the *Jesuits* at *Putney*, were the *Projectors* of our troubles, and the *Kings* ruine : That they broke up the *Treaty* at *Uxbridge* :

That

That a *Popish Lord* brought a *Petition* to the *Regicides*, signed by above 500 *Papists*, promising, That on condition of a *Toleration*, they would exclude the *Family* of the *Stuarts* from the *Crown*.

Having said so much to prove the agreement of *Papists* and *Fanaticks* for the destruction of the Government of *Church* and *State*, I shall add a few lines, to vindicate the *Chief Governours* from those accusations of *Popery* which were charged on them.

In the year 1658. ten years after the death of the *Royal Martyr*, Mr. *Baxter* prints his *Grotian Religion*, and through *Groti-*

us's sides strikes at the heads and members of the *Church of England* with the same blow. For the *Grotian design*, i. e. *Popery*, (saith he) was carrying on in the *Church of England*: and this was the cause of all our Wars and changes, p. 105.

where he thus talks of the *Royal Martyr*, beyond

beyond any thing that his *barbarous Judges* could accuse him of.

*How far the King was inclined to a reconciliation with the Church of Rome (saith Mr. Baxter) I onely desire you to judge, First, by the Articles of the Spanish and French Match sworn to. Secondly, by his Letter to the Pope written in Spain. Thirdly, by his choice of Agents in Church and State. Fourthly, by the residence of the Popes Nuntio here, and the Colledge of the Jesuits, &c. Fifthly, by the illegal Innovations in Worship so resolvedly gradatim introduced. All which I speak, not with the least desire to perswade men that he was a Papist, but onely to shew, that while he as a moderate Protestant, (i. e. a Papist in Masquerade, as they are now termed) took hands with the Queen a moderate Papist, the Grotian Design had great advantage in England, which he himself boasted of, p. 106.*

Of this indignity to that Religious Prince, the learned Bishop Bramhal, p. 617. of his Works, took notice, and vindicated him. Of which Mr. B. being informed, he says, p. 100. of his Defence, that *he printed the contrary in times of Usurpation, and that the Informer could not prove it, and that Bishop Bramhal was a Calumniator.* The Book he refers to, was, (I suppose) dedicated to *Richard Cromwell*, whom he did not call an *Usurper*, but  
one

one who piously, prudently, and faithfully, to his immortal honour, exercised the Government, 1659. Where, p. 327. having accused the Now Episcopal party for following Grotius, he says: *As for the King himself, that was their Head, if any conjecture that he was a flat Papist, I believe him not: but he was the head of the Grotian Papists, and he himself boasted of it, (ubi supra.)* Now if any would know how far Grotius, and consequently the King was a Papist, he says, *He (i. e. Grotius) was a more arrant Papist than Cassander, (who dyed in that Communion, and was one that owned the Council of Trent) and such I think are flat Papists.*

But if Mr. B. did not believe the King to be a flat Papist, then his iniquity was the greater, to give to many (though frivolous) instances by way of proof, that others might believe what Mr. B. did not. Did not Mr. B. know, that the fear of introducing Popery was made a chief ground of the War against the King? And may he not as well make it a ground of another War against the present King, because he adheres to his Bishops, whom Mr. B. calls *Popish Clergie-men*? And he says, that the Parliament, whom they were bound to believe, made it their great argument and advantage against the King, that he favoured the Papists: and on this supposition (saith he)

he) thousands came in to fight for their Cause.

And they made one *Article* against the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, that he endeavoured to introduce *Popery* : whose life on that account they took away ; though he were indeed one of their greatest adversaries : which, as it appears by the discovery of the *Plot* of the *Jesuits* to take away his life,, mentioned in the relation of *Andreas ab Habernsfeld*, and printed by Mr. *Prynne* ; wherein, because of his constancy to the *Established Religion*, from which he could not be tempted by the offer of a *Cardinals Cap* made to him from the then *Pope*, by Con his *Nuncio*, they plotted his death : so it will appear to be a gross slander, by that which followeth. And first, it shall not be denied , that his promoting of decent Ceremonies, and some Executions on Seditious persons , procured him that ill report among the Fanaticks. But he refuted it sufficiently, by declaring openly at the Council-Table against the great resort of Papists to Denmark-house ; of which also he complained to the King with passion , as a thing of dangerous consequence ; and particularly against Sir *Toby Matthews* and *Walter Mountague* , two active Papists mentioned in *Habernsfelds Discovery*. And before that time, he published his Conference with *Fisher* the Jesuit ; one of the best discourses yet extant against them.

After which time, though he could not wipe off the aspersion among the *Fanaticks*, yet he was lookt on by the *Papists* as their greatest enemy. He prevailed to banish both *Matthews* and *Mountague* from the Court, whereat the *Queen* shewed some displeasure against him: but knowing how able and faithful a Minister he was for the *Kings* service, He reconciled the *Queen* to him again.

His Conference with *Fisher* was for the satisfaction of some persons of Quality, on whom the *Jesuits* had practised. Sir *Edward Dering*, his professed Adversary, says, That by the *Bishop* had muzzled the *Jesuit*, and struck the *Papist* under the fifth Rib. In his Preface to *King Charles*, he says, God forbid your Majesty should let the *Laws* and *Discipline* sleep, for fear of the name of *Persecution*, and suffer *Mr. Fisher* and his fellows to angle in all parts of your *Dominions* for your *Subjects*. Let us have no dissolving of *Oaths* of *Allegiance*, no deposing of *Kings*, and blowing up of *States*: for if their *Religion* were as good as they pretend, they cannot compass it by good means, I am sure they ought not to attempt it by bad; for if they will do evil that good may come of it, the damnation is just. He complains therefore that the *Church* was between two *Factions* as between two *Millstones*; wherefore he thought it his duty to deliver her from both: for he tells the

King



King, that no one thing did make conscientious men to waver more in their minds, and to be drawn from the sincerity of Religion professed in the Church of England, than the want of uniform and decent Order; the Romanist being apt to say, the Houses of God could not be suffered to lye so nastily, were the true Worship of God observed in them; the external worship of God in his Church, being the great witness to the world that our hearts stand right in that Service. And to deal clearly with your Majesty, these thoughts, and no other, made me labour so much for decency, and an orderly settlement of the external Worship of God. To this I add, that the Archbishop did no other than what was practised with good success upon the Papists in Queen Elizabeths days; of which I have taken notice before, to be acknowledged by our present Dissenters.

This most Reverend Archbishop was not more averse from the Doctrine of the Papists, than from any acquaintance or correspondence with them. Panzani and Con, two of the Popes Nuncio's, often endeavoured some Conference with him; but he still put them off, though some persons of Quality solicited it. He suppressed Socinian and Popish Books, especially that called *An Introduction to a devout life*, written by Francis Sales Bishop of Geneva. And to omit many other arguments,

his *Protestation at his death* (of which hereafter) is enough to satisfy all but Infidels.

Bishop Beadle, Anno 1633, certified Bishop Laud (then of London) of the dangerous condition of Ireland, by the growth of Popery; and informed the Earl of Strafford, who was newly made Lord Deputy, that the Pope had a greater power in that Kingdom than the King; governing there by a Congregation *de propaganda fide*, established not long before at Rome: That the Popes Clergie there, was double in number to the Kings; and they were bound by Oath to maintain the Popes power and greatness against all persons: That the Pope had erected a Colledge in Dublin, to affront the Kings Colledge. One Harris, Dean of the New Colledge, printed a Treatise against Bishop Ushers Sermon at Wansstead: and after the dissolving of the new Frieries in Dublin, they erected others in the Country, where the people flocked in great multitudes to hear Mass, forgetting the Principles of Religion: That a Synodical meeting of their Clergy had been held in Drogheda, in which they decreed, That it was not lawful to take the Oath of Allegiance; and therefore it was thought necessary to restrain them by a standing Army. Whereupon the Lord Deputy was advised to summon a Parliament; and so ordered his affairs,

as to raise an Army of Twenty thousand men, which was *maintained mostly* out of the *Estates* of the *Papists*; by which means he kept the *Irish* in awe; and had he been continued there, that *Hellish Massacre* on the *English Protestants*, which followed on the withdrawing of that *Great man*, might in all probability have been prevented.

But these two *Great men*, the one of which made it his business to *prevent Rebellion* in the *State*, the other to *suppress Faction* and *Confusion* in the Church, were made the chief marks at which all the *Plots* and *Darts*, both of *Jesuits* and *Fanaticks*, were aimed; that by their *fall*, they might more easily destroy the *King*, as it afterward hapned: and notwithstanding their *serious* and *successful endeavours* to suppress *Popery* in *Ireland*, they are reputed and accused for *Papists* in *England*; but the true reason was, the *Earl of Strafford* and the *Archbishop* being two of the most *faithful Ministers* of State that the King had, the *Scots* endeavour in the first place to take them out of the way. For,

A *Parliament* being called on *Novemb. 3. 1640.* the *Scots*, under pretence of *Religion*, got a considerable *Party* in *both Houses*, to help on their *designe*. To which end, at their entrance into *England*, they made a *Remonstrance*, That their *just desires* so necessary for

the good of both Kingdoms, could find no access to the ears of their gracious King, by reason of the powerful diversion of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Deputy of Ireland; who being strengthened with a mighty Faction of Papists near the King, did rule in all matters both Temporal and Ecclesiastical, making the necessity of their service to his Majesty to appear, in being the onely fit Instruments, under a pretext of vindicating his Majesties Honour, to oppress the Liberties of his free Subjects, and the true reformed Religion. And this Remonstrance they seconded with another Libel, called, *The Intention of the Army*: signifying to the People of England, That they had no designe to waste their Goods, or spoil their Country, but onely to petition his Majesty to call a Parliament, and to bring the Archbishop and Deputy to condign punishment. At this time they set forth a Book against the Archbishop, called *Laudensium Autocatacrisis*, endeavouring to prove out of the Archbishop's Writings, that he designed to bring in Superstition, Popery, and Arminianism. There comes also a Petition from some Lords, complaining of the great increase of Popery, and of many inconveniencies drawn on the Kingdom by engaging against the Scots. This was signed by the Earls of Essex, Hartford, Rutland, Bedford, Exeter, Warwick, Mulgrave, and

Bulling.

*Bullingbrooke*; the *Lords Say*, *Mandevil*, *Brook*, and *Howard*. And this was seconded by another from *London*.

The day for the sitting of the *Parliament* being appointed on the third of *November*, the *Archbishop* was advised that the *Parliament* in the 20 of *Hen. 8.* which began in the fall of *Cardinal Wolsey* and the diminution of the power and privileges of the *Clergie*, and ended in the dissolution of *Religious houses*, was begun on the same day; and therefore he should move the *King* to respite their sitting for a day or two. The event proved too sadly ominous: for this begun with the fall of the *Archbishop*, the *Rites and Priviledges* of the *English Clergie*, *Bishops*, *Deans and Chapters*; and the *Cathedrals* left without any means to repair them.

But there were other strange accidents observed by *Dr. Heylen*, in the *Life of the Archbishop*. p. 450. On *Friday-night, Jan. 24. 1639.* he dreamt that his *Father* came to him, and askt him what he did there: and he asked his *Father* how long he would stay there: who replied, *He would stay till he had him along with him.* This Dream he noted in his *Breviate*. In *December* that year, the *Boats* that were drawn on land neer *Lambeth*, were by a violent tempest dashed against one another and broken in pieces. And the tops of two

*Chimneys* were blown down, and beat through the Lead and Rafter on the Bed in which he was wont to lie; but the roughness of the water kept him that night at his Chamber in *White-hall*. The same night, at *Croyden*, one of the *Pinacles* fell from the *Steeple*, and beat down the Lead and Roof of the Church twenty foot square. The same night, at the *Metropolitall Church* in *Canterbury*, one of the *Pinacles* which carried a Vane with the *Archbishop's Arms* upon it, was blown down, and carried a good distance off; falling on the Roof of a *Cloyster*, where the *Arms* of the *See of Canterbury* were ingraven in Stone, which by the fall of the *Pinacle* were broken in pieces: whereat some did conjecture, that he should not onely fall himself, but the *Archiepiscopal Dignity* should fall with him. But the Archbishop took most notice of another Accident on *St. Simon and Jude's Eve*, a week before the sitting of the *Parliament*; when going into his *upper Study* where his *Picture* in full length was wont to hang, he found it fallen on the ground, and lying flat on its face.

On *Saturday*, May 9. 1640. a *Paper* was posted on the *Exchange*, animating the Apprentices to sack his House at *Lambeth*: the *Munday* following, he therefore so fortified his *Palace*, that though five hundred persons attempted

tempted it, they could do nothing : but they broke open the Prisons in Southwark, and freed their Comrades ; for which actions one Benstead a Leader of the Rabble was condemned and executed.

The great cry was, That he endeavoured to bring in Popery. Mr. Prynne says, he was at least a Cassandrian Papist, and endeavoured a reconciliation between us and Rome. A Book written against him, called *The English Pope*, printed, 1643. tells us how far the King and Pope had agreed. The King (saith he) required a Dispensation from the Pope that the English Catholicks might resort to the Protestant Churches, & take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy ; and that the Popes Supremacy was to be changed into a Priority ; and that marriage should be permitted to the Priests, the Communion administred under both kinds, and the Liturgie in the English Tongue. But though these Concessions were more than the Pope would grant, yet another Libel says, There were general Propositions made for this agreement ; and that the Archbishop had made some Innovations in order thereto, Popes Nuncio, p. 11. But what the Archbishop did, was not with a respect to peace with Rome, but to the settling of the Church of England on the first Principles of Reformation, and to make it more amiable even to the Papists, whom he aimed

aimed to win over first by *Conferences*, and then by an *external Decency* in the *publick Service*; the *Catholicks* being much offended at the *slovenly keeping* of our *Churches*, and the *irreverence* of the *People* at their *Devotion*. And though some accounted the *Archbishop's* actions in *renewing ancient Rites* to give *advantage* to *Popery*, yet others more knowing said, that it would tend to the *honour* and *advantage* of the *Church of England*: for *Dr. Heylin* reports, that he heard from a person of *known Nobility*, that being with a *Father* of the *English Colledge* at *Rome*, one of the *Novices* told him with great joy, that the *English* were about to set up *Altars*, and officiate in *Copes*, to adorn their *Churches*, and paint their *Windows*; and were returning to the *Church of Rome*. To whom the *Father* replied with some indignation, That he talked like an ignorant *Novice*. and that these proceedings rather tended to the *ruine* than *advancement* of the *Catholick Cause*, because the *Church of England* coming nearer to the *ancient Usages*, the *Catholicks* there would be sooner drawn off from them, than any of that *Nation* would fall off to *Rome*.

Some things are objected against him in relation to the *Doctrine* and *Devotion* of the *Church*: as, That the *Church of Rome* was held to be a *true Church*: That the *Pope* hath



a primacy over other Bishops : That it appertains to him to call General Councils : That Altars might be erected : That he was not willing the Pope should be called Antichrist ; or that every raw Preacher should trouble his people with Popish Controversies. Some of which were false Insinuations, and others vain and frivolous. In the Liturgies of Henry the 8th, and Edward the 6th, was this Expression : From the Tyranny of the Bishop of Rome , and all his detestable Enormities, Good Lord, &c. Which words were expunged in the first of Queen Elizabeth, lest they should affright the Catholicks from coming to our Churches ; on which ground the Archbishop finding in a Book of Prayer for the fifth of November ( not confirmed by Law ) these passages : Root out the Babylonish and Antichristian Sect, which say of Jerusalem, Down with it, &c. And again, Cut off those workers of iniquity, whose Religion is Rebellion, and whose Faith is Faction : He made these small alterations. In the first, thus : Root out the Babylonish and Antichristian Sect [ of them ] which say, &c. In the second, thus : Cut off those workers of iniquity who turn Religion into Rebellion ; &c. Against which, some being conscious it was intended against them, made Objections. Which the Archbishop did, onely to avoid the giving of causeless

less offences to the *Romish Party*. Which doubtless he endeavoured with all his skill to suppress. And besides his learned *Disputations* against them; he procured a *Canon* to be pass'd in the *Convocation*, For suppressing the further growth of *Popery*, and reducing *Papists* to Church: and issued very strict and effectual *Orders* for the execution thereof. But it was the method, whether of the *Jesuits*, or *Puritans*, or both, to defame them most for *Papists*, who acted most successfully against them; as did this *Bishop*, and *Bishop Bramhall*.

A passage or two in the *Archbishop's Speech* at his death, may satisfie all sober Readers. I pray God (says he) the clamours of venient *Romani* (of which I have given no cause) help not to bring them in. Concerning the *King*. I shall be bold to say, He hath been much traduced for bringing in of *Popery*: but on my Conscience (of which I shall give God a very present account) I know him to be as free from this charge as any man living: and I hold him to be as sound a *Protestant* (according to the Religion by Law established) as any man in this Kingdom; and that he will venture his life as far and as freely for it: And I think I do or should know both his affection to Religion, and his grounds for it, as fully as any man in England. For my self, I was born and baptized in the Church of England, and the Religion by  
Law

*Law established : in that I have ever since lived, and in that I come now to die. This is no time to dissemble with God, least of all in matters of Religion ; and therefore I desire it may be remembred, I have always lived in the Protestant Religion established in England, and in that I come now to die. What clamours and slanders I have endured for labouring a Uniformity in the external Service of God, according to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church, all men know, and I have abundantly felt.*

We have observed the *Principles* of Jesuits and Fanaticks, wherein they agree, and have joyntly acted against the Government in Church and State, for the ruine of both ; and how, like Janus his head, they did not onely look backward, to the *Justification* of the *Murder* of the old King, but forward, to prevent the *Restoration* of his present Majesty. And hitherto their Practices have been according. It remains now that we consider, what these *Factions* have practised to hinder that happy *Restoration*, by Gods miraculous providence, and the wise conduct of the noble General Monk, now established. What the *Popish* Party did to hinder him from coming to his *Fathers Throne*, hath been partly discovered already ; I shall now shew what the *Fanaticks*

ticks did. And will begin with the Scots who called him home first, to vex and torment him with their *unrighteous dealings*, and *temptations* between *hopes* and *fears*, and affronted him with *unsufferable Reproaches* for the *sins* of his *Father* and *Grandfather*, as well as his *own*: insomuch that he often attempted to leave them, fearing as it came to pass, that they would at last betray him.

What provocations he met with in private may be guessed at by their publick actions. The Thursday before the Coronation, was set apart as a Solemn day of Humiliation for the sins of the Royal Family; and Robert Douglas in the Coronation-Sermon told the King, That his Grandfather King James remembered not the kindness of them who had held the Crown upon his head; yea, he persecuted faithful Ministers, he never rested till he had undone Presbyterian Government and Kirk-Assemblies, setting up Bishops, and bringing in Ceremonies, and laid the foundation whereon his Son our late King did build much mischief in Religion all the days of his life, p. 73. And p. 52. he tells our Sovereign to his face, That a King abusing his power to the overthrow of Religion, Laws, and Liberties, which are the Fundamentals of that Covenant, may be controuled and opposed: and if he set himself to overthrow all these by Arms, they who have the power, as the Estates of the Land

*Land, may and ought to resist by Arms; because he doth by that opposition break the very Bonds, and overthrow the Essentials of this Contract and Covenant. This may serve (says he) to justify the proceedings of this Kingdom against the late King, who in a hostile way set himself to overthrow Religion, Parliaments, Laws, and Liberties. Thus was the Scottish Crown lined with Thorns; and the King had Gall and Vinegar given him to drink, instead of the Royal Unction; of which he says, p. 34. The Bishops behaved to perform this Right, and the King behaved to be sworn to them: but now, by the blessing of God, Popery and Prelacy are removed, let the anointing of Kings with Oyl go to the door with them, and let them never come in again. So that although the Scots Army were overthrown at Worcester, yet his Majesty escaping with safety and liberty (by a wonderful Providence) he was (as the event now shews) a very great Gainer by that Loss.*

*And as to his Majesties return into England, it is very evident that they had not forgotten their old Doctrine of binding their Kings in Chains; and therefore they endeavoured to lay such Conditions and Fetters on the King, as neither his Father could, nor He would be able to bear. As soon as ever the General's intent to bring home the King was known,*

known, there were frequent and zealous Applications made, That the godly Ministers of the Land might be *provided for*, and the King might be a *Covenanting King*. And he was dehorted from *calling him home*, by one Mr. Baxter, Because (as he said) *Profaneness was so inseparable from the Royal Party, that if ever the King returned, the power of Godliness would be lost.*

The same person being admitted to preach before that remainder of the House of Commons when they were consulting to *call home the King*, he delivered not one word that might promote that *Noble Designe*, but many things that might hinder, or clog it with very dishonourable terms. He intimates the *Supreme Power* to be still in the two Houses, according to his *Holy Commonwealth's Maximes*. He says indeed, That Rom. 13. is part of the *Rule of his Religion*; but adds, *There hath unhappily been a difference amongst us which is the Higher Power: but he was fully of the mind as he had formerly declared, That it was in the two Houses: and therefore he adds, It was not the intent of St. Peter or St. Paul to determine whether the Emperour or the Senate were Supreme.*

In the same *Humiliation-Sermon*, he magnifies the *Loyalty of the Presbyterians*; adjures the *Commons to oppose Episcopacy* (though the

the King in his *Message* commended it to be as ancient as the *Monarchy* in this Island ) and under the titles of *sound Doctrine* and *Church-Government*, pleads for *Presbytery*; and that the *Church-Revenues* might be *settled on them*, p. 46. saying, Give first to God the things that are Gods. For them he pleads, as being the godly, peaceable, and prudent people of the Land, in opposition to *Profaness*. And to insinuate new fears and jealousies, cries out, *O what happy times did we once see!* He did not mean the peaceable time of King Charles the First; those were, in his account, days of *Profaness* and *Persecution*: He must mean either under the *Long Parliament*, or some other of the *Revolutions* of Government, when he was a *Souldier*, or enjoyed a *Sequestration*, and *Plunder*, &c. And yet this man boasteth that the King was voted home the next day after that *Sermon* of his; as if that had not been done, if he had not preached: whereas he seems to me to be of the same mind that he was of a year before, when he declared, p. 486. of *Holy Com.* That having often searched into his heart whether he did lawfully engage in the (first) War or not, and encouraged so many thousands, he could not see that he was mistaken in the main Cause; nor dares he repent of it, nor forbear doing the same, if it were to do again, in the same state of things.

There is one *mysterious transaction* of the *Anglick Party*, whereby they endeavoured to impose upon the King before his return, they had (it seems) drawn up some Heads in favour of *Presbytery*, and to the prejudice of the *Episcopal Government*; which they desired the King to publish in a Declaration; and the King, in compliance with the exigency of the times, and the necessity of his own affairs, did publish in a Declaration from *Breda*; but with a *Reservation* expressed therein, That he would leave the particulars therein mentioned to be considered and established by a free Parliament. To this Declaration (saith Mr. Baxter, p. 87. of part 2. of his *third Plea*) they would have conformed, on this Supposition, that the *Species of Prelacy* was altered by it. And Mr. B. foreseeing that the *Episcopal Party* would be grieved by it, makes this *Objection* (against those that extorted that Declaration) in the name of the *Bishops*.

Object. You did but obtrude on us your own Opinions: for when you had drawn up most of those words, his Majesty was forced to seem for the present to grant them to you.

To this Mr. B. answers: If we did offer such things (which is a confession) let the world judge what we sought by them (viz. by your own confession, to change the *Species of Episcopal Government*).



2. He says, *There is most of that about rural Deans put in, I suppose by the Bishops consent, after it went FROM US.*

So that it is evident, that they did what they could to bring the *King* under their *Chains*, before he came to his *Crown*; and had not a *superiour power*, by the conduct of the *ever-renowned General*, otherwise determined, he should have been a *King and no King to this day*. But in a *free and full Parliament*, the *Ancient Government* was established in its *full splendour*, to the great regret of these *unpeaceable men*.

And whereas his Majesty desired them to read so much of the *Common-Prayer* as they had no just *exceptions* against, we heard not of any *compliance* to that *just desire*, though they confessed they could use the *greatest part* of it. But instead thereof, they clamour for a *Reformation of Doctrine, Discipline, and Worship*; and petition his Majesty that *some Divines* of both *Parties* might be employed to compile such a *new Form* as they there described; or at least to *revise* and *reform* the old, &c. The King denies the first part (*viz.*) of making a *new Liturgie*, having in his *Declaration* of Octob. 5. expressed his *esteem* of the *Old*; but grants the second, and issues out his *Commission* to that end, empowering them to compare it with the *most ancient Liturgies*,

and to make such reasonable and necessary alterations and amendments as should be thought fit, avoiding all unnecessary abbreviations of the *Forms* wherewith the people were acquainted.

But instead of this, they draw up another *Liturgie*, or rather *Directory*, which was penned by Mr. *Baxter* (as he says) in eight days; and against the consent of the greatest part, offers that, in opposition to the *established Liturgie*. And in a threatening *Petition for Peace*, p. 5. he thus speaks: *Take heed how you drive men by penalties on that which they judge doth tend to their damnation.* And p. 14. *The denial of their desires would renew all our troubles.* And they also desire the King to leave out of his *Declaration* these words: *We do not in our judgments believe the practice of those particular Ceremonies we except against to be in it self unlawful, (i. e. we do account them sinful.)* And in the close of the second *Paper*, they tell the King, if he grant those favours, *It would revive their hearts to pray for his prosperity: but (p. 12.) should we lose the opportunity of our desired Reconciliation, it astonisheth us to foresee what doleful effects our Divisions would produce; which we will not mention in particular, lest our words should be misunderstood.*

Mr. *Baxter* made a *Prognostication*, dated  
1661.

1661. *When by the Kings Commission* (says he) *we in vain treated for Concord, to tell the Bishops what they are, and what they must expect: That they are worldly, proud, covetous, domineering, malignant, and lazy; the plague of the world, troublers of Princes, and dividers of Churches,* p. 32. & p. 9. 12, 13. and animates the people to revile, p. 14. 20. 22. and, which is notorious, p. 28. n. 105. *That where PAPISTS OR HERETICKS are shut out by Law, they will secretly contribute the utmost of their endeavours to make the sufferings of dissenting Protestants as grievous as possibly they can; that in despite of them, their own necessities may compel them to cry out for Liberty. till they procured a common Toleration for all, and opened the door for Papists and Hereticks, as well as for themselves. And he hath lived to make good his Prognostick, like Nostredamus his Son, who having prophesied that on such a day the City should be burnt, he set it on fire himself.*

As to the *Toleration*, by which *Papists* were indulged as well as other *Dissenters*, it is evident that it was obtained by the *mutual endeavours of both Parties*. *Coleman* confesseth it in behalf of the *Papists*, who thereby intended the *ruine of our Church*. to which they thought it a most probable means. And for the other *Dissenters*, *Mr. Humfrys* in his

*Peaceable Designe*, p. 71. speaks, in the name of his Brethren, to this effect: *What shall we say then to the Papist?* Answ. The Papist in our account is but one sort of Recusants, and the conscientious and peaceable among them must be held in the same predicament with those among ourselves, that likewise refuse to come to Common Prayer. And, p. 72. As for the common Papist who lives innocently in his way, he is to us as other Separatists, and so comes under the like Toleration. And I (saith Mr. Baxter) so little fear the noise of the censorious, that even now while the Plot doth render them most odious, say freely, 1. That I would have Papists used like men. 2. I would have no man put to death for being a Priest. 3. I would have no Writ de Excommunicato capiendo, or any Law compel them to our Communion and Sacraments, p. 19. of *second Defence*. And p. 235. of his first Plea, he says, *It is but reasonable, if on such necessity (i. e. the Penalties for Nonconformity) they should accept of favour from any Papist that should save them, &c.* So that they are resolved to live in compliance with the Papists, rather than in conformity with the established Church. And here it appears, whether the Conformist or Nonconformist is the greater Friend to Popery.

Dr. *Stillingsfleet's Defence*, penned by an ingenious person, says, p. 68. *I will tell Mr. B.*

a Secret which I have heard, but hope he will not put me to prove it: That the Parliament made good Laws; the Papist out of a pretended reverence to tender Consciences, hindred the execution of them; and some leading Fanatics had a private encouragement (to say no more) to set up a mighty cry of Persecution, to cast all the odium on a persecuting Church, and Diocesan Canonizers.

Dr. Owen takes this hint. Some have reported (says he) that some of the Nonconformists do or have received money from the Papists to act their affairs, and promote their interests; which he calls a patriot Calumny, &c. and avows, That never any person in Authority, Dignity, or Power in the Nation, or that had any relation to pullick affairs, nor any from them, Papist or Protestant, did once speak one word to him, or advise with him about any Indulgence or Toleration to be granted to the Papists. He says not, That he never received any Moneys or Message to promote a general Toleration; which, he thinking himself particularly reflected on, might have done in few words. And my Author desires Dr. O. to resolve him why a Fast was appointed by a certain Independent Pastor at that time, on the fifth of November, which (as he notes) is no Popish Festival. Mr. Hunt (one of their Confederates) says, It is well known several

of them (i. e. the Nonconformists) were in Pension to the D. And no men have been better received of the D. than J. J. J. O. E. B. and W. P. &c. Ringleaders of the Separation. And p. 98. Consider how the Church of England is used, which is truly the Bulwark of the Protestant Religion.

If one Party, saith Mr. Baxter, (viz. the Authority of the Nation) would bring them to such a pass, that they must be hanged, imprisoned, ruined, or worse, (as if they were in the hands of Cannibals) unless the favour of the Papists deliver them; and the other Party (viz. the Nonconformists) had rather be saved by the Papists, than be hanged or ruined by Protestants; they ought not to be suspected of Popery. This is not onely to open a door to let the Papists in, but upon meer Fears and Jealousies to flee out to them.

Now judge who is a greater friend to Popery; the old Protestants, who have made Laws to keep it out; or the Dissenters, who would destroy those Laws to let it in. And that their obstinate separation from the Church-Communion is an effectual means thereunto, I shall give the judgment of Mr. Phil. Nye, a great Covenanter, who, not long before his death, foreseeing the mischievous consequence of those extravagant heats the people were running into, wrote a Discourse on purpose to prove

prove it lawful to *hear the conforming Ministers*; and answers all the *common Objections* against it; and wonders how the *different Parties* came to be so agreed, in thinking it *unlawful* to hear us preach. But he saith he is perswaded, it is *one constant designe* of Satan, in the *variety of ways of Religion* he hath set on foot by *Jesuits* among us: *Let us therefore be more aware of whatsoever tends that way.* So that Mr. Nye plainly acknowledgeth that the *Jesuits* were *very busie* among them; and that *they* and the Devil joyned together in setting them at the *greatest distance* possible from the Church of *England*; and that those who would countermine the Devil and the *Jesuits*, must avoid whatever tends to that *height of Separation*.

Mr. Baxter seemed to be of the same judgment, p. 17. of his Preface to the *Defence of the Cure of Church-divisions*, where he saith, *Our Divisions gratifie the Papists, and greatly* <sup>infer from</sup> *hazard the Protestant Religion more than most* <sup>you</sup> *of you seem to believe or regard.* And had Mr. B. regarded as he ought, he would not have *hardened* the People in that Separation, as he hath since done. For he says again, *That among the many inconveniencies of Separation, this is one, that Popery will get by it so great advantage, as may hazard us all; and we may lose that which the several Parties do con-*  
tend

send a rout. Yet, as you have heard, these men joyned interest with the Papists to procure this mischievous Toleration. Coleman in his Tryal owned that he was of opinion, That Popery might come in, if liberty of Conscience had been granted. And the Author of the two Conferences between Le Chese and the four Jesuits, owns that the Declaration of Indulgence was procured by help of the Papists, who were included in it; but saith, The Presbyterians presently suspected the kindness, and like wise men closed with the Conformists: when on the contrary, they wrote in defense of it, and so increased the Schism, that we feel the effects of it to this day. And I may well have observed, how much a Popish Lord of these Western parts, was caressed by the Dissenters in these parts, upon the Indulgence; and how kind he was to them.

One thing more I cannot omit in Mr. B. Prognostick; p. 200. Speaking to the Bishops and Clergie, he says, *It may be your great Patrons may die, or FALL, or forsake you; and then your hearts are broken: it may be death may enter into your Families, and make you think what blood-thirstiness doth tend to.* Now what manner of Fall and Death he means he explains, p. 204. *One Felton may end the great Duke of Buckingham, p. 205. Or they may meet with such Executioners as Cardinals*



Beton. Nor was Mr. Baxter a false Prophet, though perhaps a bloody one in this *Prognostick*; witness that horrid *Assassination* of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, one of his Majesties Privy Counsellors, May 3. 1679; who coming from *Edinburg* in his Coach with one Daughter, was assaulted by twelve men well armed. The Coachman perceiving it, drove as fast as six good horses could run. But they pursued, shooting into the Coach. And one *Balfour* rid up to the Postilion, wounded him with a Sword on his face, shot one of the forehorses, hamstring'd another, and so stopt the Coach; and the rest of the Murderers being come up, one of them fired a Pistol so near his breast, that his Daughter rubbed off the burning from his Gown. Then calling him *Dog, Villain, Apostate, and Persecutor of the Godly, Detrier of Jesus Christ and his Church*, bid him come out of his Coach to receive what he deserved for his wickedness against the *Kirk of Scotland*. Upon which his Daughter got out of the Coach, and fell on her knees, begging her Fathers life: but they regarding not her Prayers or Tears, threw her on the ground, trampling on her, and wounding her: which her tender-hearted Father seeing, after many threatnings came meekly out of the Coach, and calmly said to them, *I know not that I ever injured*

any

any of you; or if I did, I am ready to make you reparation; and therefore I beseech you to spare my life, and I promise I will never pursue you for this violence. And I pray you consider, before you bring the guilt of innocent blood upon your selves. This made them stand a while, and one of them relenting, cried, Spare these gray hairs; but the rest replied, He must die, he must die: and then repeating their reproachful words, said, Thou shalt now receive the reward of thy Apostacy, and Enmity to the people of God. At which the Archbishop begged a little time to pray, telling them he would pray for them: but they scornfully told him, They cared not for his Prayers, being sure that God would not hear so base a Dog as he was. Then looking stedfastly on one of the Assassines whom he seemed to know, he kneeled before him, saying, Sir, you are a Gentleman, and I must beg my last favour from you: Since you are resolved that I must die, have pity on my poor Child, and spare her life; and for this, Sir, give me your hand. And stretching out his hand, he had for a return a very great blow with a Shable, which almost cut off his hand. And the Villain redoubling his stroak, gave him another violent wound on the left eye, which cut him two inches above it, and one below it. This stroak knocked him down: but getting on his

his knees again, he said, *Gentlemen, it is not enough, you have done your work :* and holding up his hands to Heaven as well as he could, he fervently cried out, *Lord Jesus, have mercy on my Soul, and receive my Spirit.* While he was in this posture of Devotion, they wounded him in his hands which he held up to Heaven; and in other parts of his body, till in a kind of composure he laid down his head on his arm, saying, *God forgive you, and I forgive you all.* These were his last words: after which, they gave him about sixteen wounds in his head, so that it seemed to be but one wound; and pieces of his Skull and Brains were found on the ground. And having left him, some fancied that they heard him groan; which made them go back, and to make sure work, stirred his Brains with the points of their Swords. Then they made his Servants swear not to discover them; and bad them in derision take up their Priest; and rode back to *Magus*. And one of them, *John Balfour* of *Kinlock*, passing by that Town, was heard to say, that *Now Judas was killed.*

These things were testified before the *Privy-Council* by the Oaths of his Daughter and Servants; and the Wounds given him were particularly mentioned in a *Certificate* of a *Doctor of Physick* and three *Chirurgeons*,  
who

who by Order of the Council did view and embalm his body. The Assassines were notorious Fanaticks, Frequenters of Field-Conventicles, and Followers of Mr. Welsh and other traitorous and rebellious Preachers. Nine of the Actors were discovered by their names. The Depositions of the Witnesses against them lie on record, to satisfie all men particularly. One James Anderson, Farmour, says, that George Balfour came to his Brothers house after the Murther, at Gilston, and told him it was done; and that the rest of the Murtherers waited for him on Tace's Moore; and that he returning to them, they possessed themselves of a Barri at Tonkits about three in the afternoon, and parted thence about seven, when all of them spake with the said Anderson, who knew them all particularly, and thus named them; John Balfour of Kintock, David Hacston of Rathillet, George Balfour of Gilston, James Russel of Kingscattle, Robert Dingwall a Farmer's Son in Cadham, Andrew Guillian a Weaver in Balmerinock, Alexander Henderson, and Andrew Henderson Son of Sir John Henderson in Kilbrackmont, George Flemming Son to George Flemming in Balbatby.

This discovery being made, the late Rebellion on the 29th of May broke out; which forced the Privy-Council to desist from the pursuit of the Murtherers, that they might

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suppress that *Insurrection*; which would have shaken the Government, if the Rebels had got the first *Victory*, or kept their ground. In which Army the *Murderers* sheltered themselves with the *Conventiclers*, who called themselves the *Covenanting Army*; which being beaten, the *Murderers* fled the Kingdom: but while the Army lay at *Glasgow*, one of the *Balfours* openly boasted of the *Murder* as a glorious fact; and said, holding up his Arm, *This hand helped to kill the Fox*. And five of their Confederates chose to die and hang in Chains on the place, rather than to confess the *sinfulness* of the Action, or acknowledge it to be a *Murder* or a *Sin*.

One *Mitchel*, who attempted the Murder of this *Archbishop* eleven years before, was applauded for it by some *Covenanters*. My Author quotes the Principles on which these *Murderers* acted. Goodman, p. 27. of *Pope-ry and Tyranny*, says, *That all men are bound to see the Laws of God kept, and to suppress and resist Idolatry by force: nor is it sufficient for Subjects not to obey the wicked commands of Princes, but they must resist them, and deliver the children of God out of the hands of their enemies, as we would deliver a Sheep in danger to be devoured by a Wolf: and if the Magistrate shall refuse to put Mass-mongers and false Preachers to death, the people in seeing it performed*  
*shew*

*shew that zeal of God which was commended to Phinees.*

*Gilby says, That Kings, Princes, and Governours have their Authority from the People, and on occasion the People may take it away again, as men may revoke their Proxies. It is lawful (saith he) to kill wicked Kings and Tyrants. The Subjects did kill the Queens Highness Athaliah; Iohn killed the Queens Majesty Jezebel; Elias, being no Magistrate, killed the Queens Majesties Chaplains, Baal's Priests.*

*Knox in his Debate with Lithinton, (Hist. of Reformat. p. 390.) justifies the killing of Tyrannical Princes, and men in publick places, by private persons, from the Example of Phinees, who, he says, was a private person, whose fact was approved and rewarded; and affirms that it ought to be imitated by those who prefer the true Worship and Glory of God, to the affection of fleshly and wicked Princes: and says, that this Example approved by God, stands instead of a Command: for as God is immutable, so he cannot condemn that which he hath approved in his Servants before us.*

*The Book called Naphtali, justifieth the Rebellion at Pentland-Hills, Anno 1666, from the same Example, ascribing it to the Holy Spirit of God; asserting, that the Rebels were no more Traytors, than Phinees was a Murderer; being led by the same Spirit, and had a*

*good*

good warrant, p. 21, &c. The same Doctrine is defended by a Book called *Jus populi vindicatum*, ch. 20. p. 409, &c. On this Principle Mr. *Mitchel* attempted to murder the Archbishop, Anno 1668. and did mortally wound the Bishop of Orkney; for which he was executed: (See *Ravilliack Redivivus*;) but died impenitently, believing he was led to this heroical act by the Spirit of God.

These and such Books, are used by the Field-Conventiclers more than the Practice of Piety. One of them being taken and searched, had *Naphthali* in one Pocket, and a Pistol charged with two Bullets in the other; i. e. (as a Gentleman said) The Doctrine for one hand, and the Application for the other. Many other Pamphlets, such as was the *Apologie*, and *Apologetical Narration*, *The poor mans Cup*, *The History of the Indulgence*, were printed in Scotland; and many to the like purpose in England, under the Titles of *Pleas for Peace*, the *Celeusma*, &c. defaming the Bishops, as *Apostate perjured Prelates*, *Traytors to Christ*, *Enemies to his People*, *Thorns and Thistles*, *bloody Persecutors*, *Popish Clergie-men*, &c. to prepare the people to another Rebellion, and Assassinations.

It would be too large to repeat the Tumults, Wars, and malicious Murthers committed in Scotland by the Conventiclers upon

such as according to the Laws sought to suppress them: and how they justified them all in several Pamphlets, which are in the hand of almost all that can read them. How obstinately they died, justifying themselves in those horrid Actions: chusing rather to die, than confess the sinfulness of them, and to beg pardon, or to pray for the King, and promise obedience. Mitchel at his death said, That he laid down his life willingly, in opposition to the perfidious Prelates, and in testimony of the Cause of Christ: and in his Speech, saith, Blessed are all they that take the proud Prelates and dash their brait against the stones. And yet we have had some at home, who have not only pitied these men, but promoted their Practices there, and frequently attempted the same in England.

Since his Majesties return, who can but wonder at the Enthusiastick madness of Vener and the Fifth-monarchy-men, who with less than half an hundred of men, attempted the whole City of London! And the Plot in December 1662, to cut off Root and Branch, King, Queen, Duke, Bishops, and Gentry, that none of them might run beyond Sea; for which Tong, Philips, Stubbs, Hinde, Sallers, and Gibbs, were executed at Tyburn: which Plot was to be carried on upon the fear and jealousy of a Popish Massacre. And seditious



*Letters* were dispersed to that purpose; a copy of which was read in the Court: and the *Fifth-monarchy-men*, *Quakers*, *Anabaptists*, and all sorts of *Fanaticks* were invited to joyn in the *Plot*.

The next year, *March 21. 1663.* another *Plot* was discovered in the *North*, of which the King says in his Speech, That it was of a large extent, and very near execution, had he not by Gods goodness come to the knowledge of the principal Contrivers, and secured them from executing their intended mischief.

In the year 1665. there was another *Plot* to murder his Majesty, and overthrow the Government; to kill the General, surprize the Tower, fire the City; and a *Junto* settled in London, and Money provided to carry on this designe: for which *Rathbone*, *Sanders*, *Tucker*, *Flint*, *Evans*, *Miles*, *Westcot*, and *Coles*, were executed.

And whether such bloody practices as these have not been encouraged by those Principles which the *Jesuits* and *Fanaticks*, especially *Mr. White* and *Mr. Baxter* have published in print, is so evident, that it can admit of no dispute or contradiction; especially if it be considered of what a cruel disposition that man who hath published so many *Pleas for Peace* (but such a Peace as the *Historian* speaks of: *Desolationem volunt, & Pacem vocant*, cannot

he had but by the *ruine of Church and State*) was, who kept the *Field against the King* from the beginning of the Wars, till he became a *Prisoner*, as hath been collected out of his own *boasting Confessions*, in a little Tract called *The second part of the History of Separation*; to which I shall adde the following Relation.

Mr. Vernon in his *Life of Dr. Heylin* (Preface ad finem :) Mr. Baxter (says he) may be pleased to call to mind what was done to old Major Jennings in the last War, in the Fight that was between Linsel and Longford in Salop; where the Kings Party being worsted, the Major was stript almost naked, and left for dead in the Field: but Mr. Baxter and one Lieutenant Hurdman walking among the wounded and dead bodies, perceived some life left in the Major: and Hurdman run him through the body in cold blood, Mr. Baxter all the while looking on, and taking off with his own hand the Kings Picture from about his neck; telling him, as he was swimming in his Gore, that he was a Popish Rogue, and that was his Crucifix: which Picture was kept by Mr. Baxter for many years, till it was got from him, but not without much difficulty, by one Mr. Summerfield, who then lived with Sir Tho. Rous, and generously restored it to the poor man, now alive at Wiche near Parlhore in Worcestershire, although at the Fight supposed to be dead, being, after the

wounds given him, dragged up and down the Field by the merciless Souldiers ; Mr. Baxter approving of the inhumanity, by feeding his eyes with so bloody and barbarous a Spectacle. For the truth of which, we have this Subscription : I Thomas Jennings subscribe to the truth of this Narrative above-mentioned, and have hereunto put my Hand and Seal, the second day of March 1682. Signed and sealed in the presence of John Clerk Minister of Wiche,  
 Tho. Darke.

But to return. That which I desire the Reader chiefly to observe, is, that all the designs of the Dissenting Parties ever since Q. Elizabeth's time, have been ushered in with Remonstrances and Intelligences of Popish Plots, and Massacres, and the change of our Religion, and loss of Liberties. This is the common Prologue to all their intended Tragedies ; as in the Plot of Tong and his Confederates, Sir Jo. Maynard observed, About five thousand Letters were to be dispersed through the Nation. to possess the people that the Papists would about that time massacre the Protestants ; which was done ( says he ) to raise a fear and discontent in the Nation, to induce them to joyn in the designe, which was to kill the King, and alter the Government. The Letter then read in Court, was to this effect.

SIR,

**O**Ut of the respect which I bear to you in particular, and to the Protestant party in general, I give you notice of this passage. About a fortnight since a woman, which you must be ignorant where, who had it from a correspondent of the Papists, that they intend to make use of their Army, (which all the world sees they have provided) against All-Hallow's Eve next. It was thought good therefore, in as prudent a way as may be, to give notice to our friends in remote parts, that they may do what Piety to God, Loyalty to their Prince, Love to their Country, and self-preservation should direct them. Sir, I call the Eternal God to witness, that 'tis not to trepan, to put a trick upon you, but a sober truth, and also communicated to a Justice of Peace, and by him to the Privy-Council, &c.

Another Intrigue of the two Factions, was to effect the dissolution of the late long Parliament; of whose Loyalty and love to the Church, the King had such signal proofs, that he kept them between fourteen and fifteen years together, notwithstanding many attempts to have them dissolved. They found all things in confusion, and met with great difficulties and opposition; the Revenues of the Crown were exhausted, the Church was razed

to the very foundations, and the *Three Kingdoms* turn'd into that which the *Factions* called a *Common-wealth*, but indeed was a *Common woe*: but by their *Conduct*, the *Kings Revenues* were increased to such a competency as might support the *Royal Crown* and dignity, and freed *Him* from that precarious and necessitous condition which was the occasion of his *Royal Fathers* ruine: the *Church* also was by good and wholesome *Laws* so well established for *holiness* and *beauty* too, as that it was once more the *envy* of the *Factions*. The *Laws* made for conformity to the *Publick Worship* were so full, that there needed nothing but a *due execution* of them, to destroy the *Separation*. And as to *Popery*, the old *Laws* were not only revived, but a new *Test* contrived, to discover and disable those of that *Perfwasion* from doing mischief. There was a *Bill* prepared by the *House of Lords* for securing the *Protestant Religion* as it was then established, especially against *Popery*; which was so contrived by a select *Committee* of the most *Religious* and *Loyal Lords* *Spiritual* and *Temporal*, that the *Popish Party* laid, If that past into an *Act*, they must expect *fire* and *faggot*. These things exasperated both *Parties*.

The *Earl of Shaftsbury*, who had been of all parties, but never true to the interest of

any, had *screw'd* himself into the quality of a *Chief Minister of State*; but not content therewith, he aspired to ingross the whole *conduct of Affairs* both at *home* and *abroad*; which the *King* and his *Royal Brother* not permitting, he became an *enemy* to both, and made it his business to *perplex* and *embroil* the affairs of the *Three Nations*. And the better to effect it, made himself the *Head* of the *Fanatick Party*; who thinking themselves *oppressed* for want of liberty to *ruine themselves* and *others*, and finding no hopes of such a liberty from that *Parliament*, used all possible *arts* to bring it into *contempt*, in order to its *dissolution*; being confident, that if that *could* be effected, they should be able to make such a *choice* of *Parliament-men* against another *Session*, as would *espouse* their *interest*. And indeed they were *not deceived*: for in the *succeeding Parliaments*, they had retrieved the *Good old Cause*, if the great *prudence* of His *Majesty*, and the *Religious Loyalty* of the *House of Peers*, had not prevented it.

And herein they might be assured of the *mutual assistance* of the *Popish party*, who had conceived as great a *prejudice* against this *Parliament*, as the other; and whose *hopes* were grounded on our *Divisions*; which *they* also, in conjunction with the *Fanaticks*, thought would

would most probably be effected; by the new Election of Parliament-men. Coleman is made chief Agent of the Popish party; upon whom though Shaftsbury looked askint, yet they both acted the same thing. (viz.) the dissolution of the Parliament. Some said they were a company of young raw States-men, that granted whatever the King desired, without any deliberation. To this the King answered, that if they were young and beardless now, he would keep them till their beards were grown, and they had got more experience. Then comes forth in print a Narrator, which tells the people, that the House of Commons are a company of indigent and out-lawed persons, The Court-Favourites, or the Dukes Creatures, and Pensioners to the King of France; and as such, the Names of the most Loyal Members were posted up in the City, and published in the Country, to render them odious, and incapable of another Election. The Bishops also are reviled, as in 41, as being Popishly affected.

At length, the King having, for reasons best known to himself, Prorogued this Parliament for fifteen Months, being to meet again on the fifteenth of February, 1675. they were no sooner met, but the Earl of Shaftsbury had got a small Party in the House of Lords to question the Legality of their sitting as a Par-

Parliament. And first, the Duke of Buckingham insists, that *there be divers Acts of Parliament in force for Annual Parliaments, the Prerogation for fifteen Months made those Acts impracticable, and so in effect the Parliament was dissolved.* This Motion and Argument was followed by the Earls of Shaftesbury, Salisbury, and the Lord Wharton, but so ill resented by the House of Lords, that they were all four sent to the Tower. Yet the dispute ended not here; for several Pamphlets are written and dispersed, to persuade the people that the Parliament was actually dissolved, and they were now only a Convention, and no Parliament; and that no Taxes imposed by them, ought to be paid, nor any of their Orders obligatory. One Pamphlet intituled, *The Long Parliament dissolved.* Another called, *A seasonable Question, and a useful Answer.* The Question is put, in a Letter from a person pretending to be chosen to sit in that Parliament, to a Benchman, desiring to be resolved before he took his Journey, *Whether the Parliament were not dissolved by the Prerogation of fifteen Months: which the Benchman resolved in the Affirmative.* But this Artifice was quite ruined, by the Submission of the Lords in the Tower, before they could obtain their liberty. But both this and the



other Faction were so restless, that they pursued their designs till they brought them to the desired end, the dissolution of that Loyal Parliament.

During this interval of Parliaments, the Factions are very industrious to provide for the choice of such men as were known enemies to the Church and Government established; and several such were chosen, who had been actually engaged against the King in the late Wars, or were the Children and next relations of such. And in the next Parliament, the old leaven began to ferment; the methods of Sedition in 41 are renewed; fears and jealousies of Popery and Arbitrary Government abuse the whole Nation; Supplies for necessary occasions are denied; Comprehension and Toleration pleaded for; and in one of the subsequent Parliaments, the Act of 35 of Queen Eliz. is voted a grievance, and thought fit to be abrogated: whereat all that knew the opinion of the Dissenters, (viz.) that that Act was principally, if not solely intended against the Papists) did greatly wonder; for most certainly that Act laid a restraint on the Papists, under very severe penalties; from which though the Dissenters pleaded that they were exempted, yet it was the judgment as well of the Judges that then were, as of all those that have been in the succeeding times

ever

ever since, that *they* were as abnoxious to the *Papists*. And indeed, the *occasion* which procured that Act, and the *preamble* thereof do plainly evince that it *equally* respected *Recusants* and *Non-conformists* of both parties for the *end* of it was to *retein* her Majesty's *Subjects* in *due obedience*. And doubtless the *Popish* party would have *purchased* the *abrogation* of that Act with a great sum of money but the *other Dissenters* were ready to gratifie them in the *disannulling* of it; to which the House of Commons had *agreed* by plurality of voices: but it proved abortive for want of *that Authority* which gives *Life* to *all Laws*. And so the *Factions* remain *statu quo* to this day.

How *violent* and *unjustifiable* the *Actions* and *Speeches* of divers persons in the following *Parliaments* were, and of what *evil consequences*, the ensuing particulars will demonstrate.

It is credibly reported, that the late *Scottish Stirs* (as some are pleased to call them) were *fomented* not only by several *Jesuitical* persons that acted *secretly* among them, and preached in some of their *Conventicles*; but by some *correspondence* and *intelligence* from *England*, particularly by an *Harangue* of a great Lord, who (as himself says) *spoke* the *Distates* of the *Spirit* within him, to the purpose.

We have a little Sister, and she hath no  
 reasts: what shall we do for our Sister in the  
 ay when she shall be spoken for? --- Popery  
 and Slavery, like two Sisters, go hand in hand:  
 sometime One goes first, sometime the other in  
 the Moors; but the other is alway following close  
 in hand. In England, Popery was to have  
 brought in Slavery; in Scotland, Slavery went  
 before, and Popery was to follow. --- They have  
 an Illustrious Nobility, a gallant Gentry, a  
 Learned Clergie, and an understanding worthy  
 people. --- They are under the same Prince, and  
 the influence of the same Favourites and Coun-  
 sels. When they are hardly dealt with, can we  
 that are the richer, expect better usage? for it  
 is certain, that in all absolute Governments, the  
 poorest Countries are always most favourably  
 dealt with. When the Ancient Nobility and  
 Gentry there cannot enjoy their Royalties, Shri-  
 valdoms, and Stewardies, which the, and their  
 Ancestors have possessed for several hundreds of  
 years, but that now they are enjoyned by the  
 Lords of the Council to make Deputations of their  
 Authorities to such as are their known enemies;  
 can we expect to enjoy our Magna Charta long,  
 under the same persons and administration of  
 Affairs? If the Council-Table there can im-  
 prison any Nobleman or Gentleman for several  
 years, without bringing him to Trial, or giving  
 the least reason for what they do, can we expect  
 the

the same men will preserve the Liberty of  
 Subject here? Scotland hath outdone all  
 Eastern and Southern Countries, in having the  
 Lives, Liberties, and Estates subjected to  
 Arbitrary will and pleasure of those that  
 govern: They have lately plundered and harried  
 the richest and wealthiest Countries of the  
 Kingdom, and brought down the barbarous  
 Highlanders to devour them; and all this with  
 out almost a colourable pretence to do it. No  
 can there be found a reason of State for what  
 they have done, but that these wicked Ministers  
 designed to procure a Rebellion at any rate,  
 which as they managed, was onely prevented by  
 the miraculous hand of God, or otherwise all the  
 Papists in England would have been armed,  
 and the fairest opportunity given in the  
 time for the execution of that wicked and bloody  
 designe the Papists had. And it is not possible  
 for any man that duly considers it, to think  
 other, but that those Ministers that acted it were  
 as guilty of the Plot as any of the Lords that  
 is in question for it. My Lords, I am forced  
 to speak this the plainer, because till the press  
 be fully and clearly taken off from Scotland,  
 it is not possible for me or any thinking man to  
 believe that good is meant us here: we must  
 be upon our guard, apprehending that the  
 principal is not changed at Court; and that the  
 men that are still in Place and Authority, have

that influence on the mind of our excellent Prince, that he is not nor cannot be that to us, that his own nature and goodness would incline him to, &c.

By the very next Post after this Speech was said to have been spoken, forty written Copies of it were sent from London to Edinburgh; and the Fanaticks grew so insolent and daring on it, that several loyal Gentlemen wrote up accounts to what height of insolencies this Speech had blown up the enemies of the Church and Monarchy; and that they had just reasons to fear, that very dangerous attempts, if not a down-right Rebellion, would speedily ensue thereupon. For now they began to look and speak big in Edinburgh; and many were heard and seen on the Crown of the Causeway, who had skulked about in darkness before. And as for the disaffected parts of the Country, they now displayed the Banners of Jesus Christ, as they blasphemously called their Colours at their Conventicles every-where: and their Preachers now told them, That the time of their deliverance, and Gods taking vengeance on their enemies, was now at hand: onely they must repent, and be strong, and of a good courage to fight the battels of the Lord. They also threatened in all places such as they thought were seriously active against them, talking of great Changes and Revolu-  
tions

*tions in England; and in publick places drop-  
ped Lists of the names of those men whom  
they had a mind should fall by Heroical  
hands: particularly at Cupar the Shire-town  
in Fyffe, a threatening Declaration was found,  
while the Deputy-Sheriff was there deman-  
ding the legal Fines from those who had been  
convicted of frequenting Field-Conventicles,  
and entertaining declared and attainted Tray-  
tors and Fugitives, and intercommuned Rebels.  
The Declaration was thus directed.*

*To all and sundry to whom these presents  
shall come, but especially to the Magi-  
strates of the Town of Cupar in Fyffe.*

**B**E it known to all men, that whereas under a  
Pretext of Law, though most falsely, there  
is most abominable, illegal, and oppressive Rob-  
beries and Spoils committed in this Shire;  
Captain Carnegie and his Souldiers, by vertue  
of a Precept from William Carmichael, &c.  
he being authorizee and held on to it by that  
Apostate Prelate Sharpe, who, &c. These are  
therefore to declare to all that shall any way be  
concerned in this villanous Robbery and Oppres-  
sion, either by assisting, recepting, levying, or any  
manner of way countenancing the same, that  
they shall be holden as guilty thereof. And  
howev<sup>r</sup> they be think themselves for the pre-  
sent

sent secured, being guarded by a Military Force, and those that are thus robbed despicable; yet let them take this for a warning, that they shall be handled severely, answerable to their Villanies, and that by a Party equal to all that dare own them: and that shortly, as God shall enable and assist them, whose names may be read in these following Letters, A B C D, &c. to the end of the Alphabet.

On this followed the Murther of the Archbishop upon the third of May 1679, because, as their first Declaration said, It was appointed as a day of Solemn Thanksgiving for setting up an Usurper to destroy the Interest of Christ, and assume the power which is proper to him alone.

These Assassinations were commended to this barbarous people by Mr. Knox of old, who in his History of Scotland approves of the private murdering of the Cardinal Beton by Norman Lesley Son to the Earl of Rothsey, and James Melvin; calling it a godly fact, and proposing it as an Example to be followed by posterity. And in a Scottish Pamphlet printed at the beginning of the late Wars, called *Sioux Plea*, the Heroical Fact of Felton is commended, as fit to be followed by the Nobles of Scotland, saying, God hath chalked out a way, guiding you by the hand, in giving this first  

L

blow;

*blow; will you not follow him? Mr. Hunt and Baxter of later days, insist on the same Example. So that we see the Fanatics come nothing short of the Jesuits in the practice of Assassinations, and promoting Open Rebellions: concerning which, we have this ingenious Distick, accommodated both to Ignatius the Founder of the Jesuits, and Lesley the Champion of the Presbyterians.*

*Quam bello plus pace nocet & ad ocia versus,  
Crudeles animum vertis ad insidias  
Scotia & in media conscripto milite regnas  
Diraq; (fraterna nomine) bella geris.*

How mischievous the designs of these men were, appears partly by their obstinate persevering in their treasonable opinions, and justifying their rebellious practices, even to their deaths, and refusing to save their lives by asking pardon, and praying for the King; and partly by the following Declarations which were taken with some of them.

*The new Covenant taken from Donald Cargil a Field-preacher, at Queensferry, the third of June 1680.*

*Sept. 4* 'S Eriously that the hand of our Kings hath been against the Throne



Throne of the Lord, and that now for a long time the Succession of our Kings, and the most part of our Rulers with him, hath been against the purity and power of Religion and Godliness, and freedom of the Church of God---and hath of late so manifestly rejected God, his Service and Reformation, disclaiming the Covenant of God, and blasphemously enacting it to be burnt by the hand of a Hangman.---Governed contrary to all right Laws divine and humane; exercised such Tyranny and Arbitrary Government, oppress'd men in their Consciences and Civil Rights; used free Subjects, Christian and reasonable men, with less Discretion and Justice than their Beasts, &c. We do reject that King, and those associate with him, from being our Rulers, because standing in the way of our right, free, and peaceable serving of God---according to our Covenant; and declare them henceforth to be no lawful Rulers, as they have declared us to be no lawful Subjects---And that after this, we neither owe nor shall yield any willing obedience to them, but shall rather suffer the utmost of their cruelties and injustice, until God shall plead our Cause: and that upon these accounts; because they have altered and destroyed the Lords established Religion, over-

' turned the fundamental and established  
 ' Laws of the Kingdom, taken away Christs  
 ' Church and Government, and changed the  
 ' Civil Government of this Land into Tyranny.---So that none can look upon us or  
 ' judge us bound in Allegiance to them, unless they say also we are bound in Allegiance to Devils ; they being his Vicegerents,  
 ' and not Gods. ---We do declare, that we  
 ' shall set up over our selves, and over all  
 ' that God shall give us, Power, Government, and Governours, according to the  
 ' Word of God, and especially to that, *Exod.* 18.  
 ' 21. and shall no more commit the government of our selves, and the making of Laws  
 ' for us, to any one single person and lineal  
 ' Successor ; we being not tyed to one Family-government, not being an Inheritance,  
 ' but an Office. ---And we declare against  
 ' enacting that [blasphemous] (so *Calvin* calls  
 ' that Supremacy of *Henry* the Eighth, upon which this *Prerogative* is founded ) and  
 ' scrilegious Prerogative given to a King over the Church of God.

*A Declaration and Testimony of the true  
Prssbyterian, Anti-Prelatick, and  
Anti-Eraastian persecuted Party in  
Scotland.*

IT is not amongst the smallest of the  
Lords Mercies to this poor Land, that  
there hath alway been some who have gi-  
ven testimony of every course of Defecti-  
on which we are guilty of ; which is a to-  
ken for good that he doth not as yet intend  
to cast us off altogether, but will leave a  
Remnant in whom he will be glorious, if  
they through his grace keep themselves  
clean still--from Popery, Prelacy, & Eraastian  
Supremacy, so much usurped by Him, who it  
is true ( as far as we know ) is descended  
from the Race of our Kings ; yet he hath so  
far deborded from what he ought to have  
been, by his Perjury, and Usurpation in  
Church-matters, and Tyranny in matters  
Civil, as is known by the whole Land, that  
we have just reason to believe that one of  
the Lords great controversies is, That we  
have not disowned him, and the men of his  
practices, whether inferiour Magistrates or  
others, as enemies to our Lord and his  
L 3 Crown,

' Crown, and the *True Protestant* and Presby-  
 ' terian interest in their hands. Therefore  
 ' although we be for Government and Go-  
 ' vernours, such as the Word of God and our  
 ' Covenants allows; yet we for our selves,  
 ' and all that will adhere to us, as the Repre-  
 ' sentatives of the true Presbyterian-Church,  
 ' and covenanted Nation of *Scotland*, consi-  
 ' dering the great hazard of lying under such  
 ' a sin, do by these Presents disown *Charles*  
 ' *Stuart*, who hath been reigning, or rather  
 ' we may say tyrannizing on the Throne of  
 ' *Scotland* (forefaulted several years since,  
 ' by his Perjury and breach of Covenant with  
 ' God and his Church) and usurpation of  
 ' his Crown and Royal Prerogatives therein--  
 ' and by his Tyranny and breach of the very  
 ' *leges regnandi* in matters Civil; for which  
 ' reasons we declare that several years since  
 ' he should have been denuded of being King--  
 ' As also being under the Standard of Christ,  
 ' we declare War against such a Tyrant and  
 ' Usurper, and all the men of his practices, as  
 ' enemies to our Lord Jesus Christ, his Cause  
 ' and Covenants, and against all such as have  
 ' strengthened him, sided with him, or any-  
 ' wise acknowledged him in his Usurpation  
 ' and Tyranny Civil and Ecclesiastical; yea,  
 ' and against all such as shall strengthen, side  
 ' with, or anywise acknowledge any other  
 ' in

in the like Usurpation and Tyranny, &c.

Given at Sanguair, 22 June 1680.

Collected out of the true Copies, collated with the Originals, kept among the Records of his Majesties Privy-Council.

Al. Gibson,  
Will. Paterson.

But that the *band of Jacob* (i.e. the Jesuits) was in all these *Tumults and Rebellions*, will thus appear:

Dr. Oates, whose Testimony *ad homines* is very creditable, assures us, *That the Jesuits creep in among Dissenters under the disguise of Nonconforming Ministers, to divide and exasperate, to blow up Animosities and Calumnies into actual Rebellion against the Civil Government, under a pretence of the dislike of the Ecclesiastical.* Thus in his printed Narrative, part 1. he says, *That Rich. Strange Provincial, John Keins, Basil Langworth, John Fenwick, and Harcourt, Jesuits, did write a treasonable Letter to one Father Suiman an Irish Jesuit at Madrid in Spain, in which was contained the plotting and contriving a Rebellion of the Presbyterians in Scotland, against the Episcopal Government: in order to which,*

they employed Matthew Wright, Will. Morgan, and one Ireland, to go and preach under the notion of Presbyterians, and give the disaffected Scots a true understanding of their sad estate and condition by Episcopal Tyranny; and to tell them, they had now a fair opportunity to vindicate their Liberty and Religion; and that it could be done no other way but by the Sword. Paragr. 18. That the Fathers of the Society in Ireland were very vigilant to prepare the people to rise for their Liberty and Religion, and to recover their Estates. Parag. 35. That the Jesuits, by order of their Provincial, were to send new Messengers into Scotland, to promote the Commotions there, and to inform the people of the great Tyranny they lay under, by being denied liberty of Conscience; and that not being to be procured but by the Sword, they must take that course to purchase their liberty. Parag. 43. That two new Ministers were sent into Scotland on the fifth of Aug. 78. one by the name of Father Moore, the other of Sanders, alias Brown, with instructions to carry themselves like Nonconformist Ministers, and to preach to the disaffected Scots the necessity of taking up the Sword for defence of liberty of Conscience, These Dr. Oates saw dispatched, Parag. 150. The Doctor saw a Letter from Father Ireland, Aug. 7. 1678. where he intimates the joy he had that the disaffected Scots would not lay aside their endea-

endeavours for liberty of Religion, and that the Catholicks of Scotland had promised to use their utmost interest to keep up the Commotions there. (And a good Author observes what fell out in the tragical end of the Lord Forester in Scotland, who after the defeat of the Rebels at Bothwel-bridge, took occasion, on the Indulgence granted by his Majesty, to erect a house within two miles of Edinburgh, for a publick Conventicle of Nonconformists: and for building this Synagogue, he went for a zealous man among them: but not long after, he was murdered by a woman-relation with whom he had lived incestuously many years. After his death, a Dispensation was found in his Closet from the Pope to marry her; which he delaying to do, she took his life in reparation of her abused Honour. Which shews that the Supporters of the Nonconformists may be secret Papists.) Parag. 51. John Keins told the Doctor, That the Provincial had taken care of keeping alive the Differences between the disaffected Scots and Duke Lauderdale; that Mum and Chocolet should be put down, and the Order of the Magpies should be turned to their primitive institution and habit; by Mum; and Chocolet meaning the Protestant Peers, and by Magpies the Bishops. Paragr. 67. n. 7. One means (he says) they were to use to bring in Popery, was by Seditious Preachers

chers and Catechists set up and maintained, and directed what to preach in their own or other private or publick Conventicles and Field-meetings. And my Author says, I have heard Mr. Prance affirm, that both Gauan and Whitebread used to preach frequently in Conventicles in Southwark and other places: and that he was able to prove, Whitebread the Provincial of the Jesuits, who was executed for the Plot, did not many months before the discovery preach in a Conventicle as a Nonconformist at Spaldwick within five miles of Huntingdon; and that he had several times done the like before, as was attested by several of the Congregation before divers Gentlemen in the County of Huntingdon.

But to return for England; where we are told by a *marvelous cunning man*, That the next Scene that opened, would be Rome or Paris. But the Prophet saw nothing of Geneva or Scotland, which was also so nearly conjoyned in the Intrigue, that I scarce know how to separate them. For as I believe there was, is, and will be a *Popish Designe* to overthrow the Government, as long as the Jesuits retain their Principles and avowed Obedience to the See of Rome: so I am confident, there was, is, and will be a *Fanatick Plot* against the Church and State, as long as so many *Factionous and Seditious* persons retain their

Anti-



*Antimonarchical and Separating Principles.*

As for the *Papists*, they thought their work was sufficiently carried on, by the *Divisions* which they had increased among our selves by the *Toleration*; and therefore for a while they contented themselves with working, as so many *Moles*, under ground, heaving at the *Foundations* of our Government. But, through the mercy of God, *Parturient Montes*--their intended *Babel* proved but a *Mole-hill* which was easily scattered. For,

*Die Lunæ 1678.* it was Resolved ( *Nemine Contradicente* ) in the Parliament, That there was, is, and for several years last past, hath been a horrid and treasonable Plot and Conspiracy, contrived and carried on by those of the *Popish Religion*, for murdering of his Majesties sacred Person, and for subverting the Protestant Religion, and the ancient and well-established Government of this Kingdom. Of which Coleman, by several *Evidences*, and his own Letters, was found guilty, in conspiring the death of the King, and endeavouring to subvert the Protestant Religion, and to bring in Popery, by the aid of foreign Powers; for which he was executed, December 3. 1678. Ireland, Pickering, and Grove, were executed for the like Treasons, Jan. 24. Green, Berry, and Hill, were condemned, Feb. 10. for the Murder of Sir Edmond-bury Godfrey.

White-

*Whitebread, Harcourt, Fenwick, Gauan, and Turner*, were condemned on the 14th of June 1679. And *Richard Langhorne* was condemned the same day. And the Lord *Stafford* was also executed for the same Plot and Conspiracy.

It is true, that all these ( *Coleman* onely excepted, whose Letters then produced were so plain, that they admitted of no evasion ) *denied their guiltiness* to the last breath; but it was a practice allowed to men under their circumstances, and had been practised by others of *their Perswasion*, in the like case: for *Garnet* ( *Whitebread's* Predecessor, a Principal of the Jesuits ) being accused for the *Gunpowder-treason*, as holding correspondence with one *Hall* then in the Tower, utterly *denied it with horrid Imprecations*: which when *Hall* confessed, he beg'd pardon, and confessed he had *offended*, if *Equivocation* did not help him. *Tresham*, another of the *Conspirators*, had confessed that *Garnet* was privy to the *Treason*; but afterward, by the importunity of his Wife, he protested a little before his death, that his former Confession was false, and that he had not seen *Garnet* in sixteen years before. Which Protestation of his was afterward proved to be false, and *Garnet himself* confessed that he had seen him many times within that space. And in a Book cal-

led

led *The Jesuits Catechism*, penned, as is said, by some *Secular Priests*, Anno 1602, they say, That a *Jesuit* being condemned to die, after he hath made his *Confession* to a *Priest*, he is not tyed to reveal his guilt to the *Judge*, but it is lawful for him to stand in a stiff denial of it at the time of *Execution*, as being clear before God, although he persist in a *Lye*, after he hath discharged his *Conscience* to his *Confessor*, p. 166, 167.

The Author of *Remarks on the Debates of the House at Oxford*, tells us, That those *Debates* were as great a *Witness* for the *King*, as any he had: For *R. M.* (says he) said, That the *King's* telling them in his *Speech* that he would stick to his *Resolutions* as to the *Succession*, and his proposing an *Expedient*, is arbitrary, and *French*; and that it was the *Kings* designe to cow the *Parliament*, to bring them to *Oxford*: And that neither *Bishops*, nor *Counsellors*, nor *Ministers of State*, nor those of the *Gospel*, have endeavoured to preserve *Religion* or *Safety*. *T. B.* says plainly, They must let blood. *Sir N. C.* says, As I understand, it is proposed the *Government* shall be in *Regency* during the *Duke's* life: I would be satisfied, if the *D.* will not submit to that, whether those that fight against him are not *Traytors in Law*. *H. B.* says, The same interest that passeth the *Bill* here, will do it in *Scotland*. Another insists,

sists, That all about the King should be removed; and that, though Ministers have been altered, yet the Government hath been in such hands, as that the same Principles remain. Sir W. C. says, That the weight of England is the people; and the more they know, the heavier they will be; and that in all Ages they have sunk ill Ministers of State. (And doubtless good ones too.) R. H. looks on the slipping the Bill for Repealing the Act of 35 of Eliz. to be a breach of the Constitution of the Government; which if it had been moved in Queen Elizabeth's days, that motion would certainly have been so thought. B. W. says of the King's Speech, That it was none of his; that it had nothing of his in it; that it is flat and short; That his Majesty was a better man, and a better Protestant, than to make it himself; and that they who advised it, must answer for it. And yet to shew on whom he meant to throw this Dirt, he says afterward, The King hath gone on in a resolution as far as this in his Speech, in his Declaration formerly. Sir W. J. observes, That no man knowing in Laws or History, but can tell us, that to Bills grateful and popular, the King gives his consent. L. G. is dissatisfied with these hands in which the Government is, and fears the Kings being Absolute: And therefore Sir F. W. says, The same Authority that can make a descent of the Crown, can modify it.

All

All their *Votes* and *Speeches* must be *Printed*, to shew they are not *ashamed* of what they do. Col. M. hopes that his *Posterity* will do as he among the rest hath that *Meeting* and the former done.

This *Bill of Exclusion* to alter the *Succession* and *modifie* the *Crown*, and the *Repeal* of the *Act 35 Eliz.* is the means used to secure the *King's Person*, and the *Protestant Religion*. Though the *King* and the *established Church* are of a quite contrary judgment. And the *Act 13 Car. 2. 1660*, which says, *That by the undoubted fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, neither the Peers of this Kingdom, nor the Commons, nor both together in Parliament, nor any other person whatsoever, ever had, hath, or ought to have any Coercive power over the persons of the Kings of this Realm.* And by the *person of the King*, is meant all such persons to whom the *Crown legally descends*.

The *mischiefs* of altering the *Succession*, hath cost too dear already, to attempt another *Experiment*. The *Dispute* between the *Houses of York and Lancaster* cost the *Nation* the *lives of Eight Kings and Princes*; *Forty Dukes, Marquesses, and Earls*; *Two hundred thousand of the People*; besides *Barons and Gentlemen*; and so much *Money and Spoil*, as cannot be valued.

So that it is sufficiently evident, that these

these irregular and violent Proceedings were a *Prologue* to some intended *Tragedy*. There were *hot Irons* on the *Forge*; we heard the *blows* throughout the Nation, and *sparks of fire* flew about our ears. But, God be thanked, none of those *Weapons* which were forged against the *King* or the *Church*, have prospered. *Hitherto the Lord hath helped us.*

The *Fanatick Party* carried on their designs more openly than the *Papists*, insomuch that they thought to *bear down all before them*, by the numbers and strength of their Party. The *Pulpits* and *Presses* do not onely sound *Alarms*, but cry *Victoria*. Their *Peaceable designe* had divided the *Bishopricks* between *Presbyterian*, *Independent*, and *Anabaptist*. They promise the *true Protestant Peacemakers* more favour than they had from their *Conforming Brethren*, because they joyned in a *Complaint of Persecution*. Mr. *Baxter*, in his *Book of Obedience and Patience*, p. 265. tells us, That *Persecutors are not immortal, but must die as well as others; and they have not alway the choice of their [Successors]*. He had intimated what one such man as *Felton* could do; and that some great men might be dealt with as *Cardinal Beton* was.

The *King* must be delivered from evil *Counsellors*, and the *House* purged of *Pensioners*. *Petitions* are procured from the *City*,  
and

and thanks given the Petitioners for their care, &c. Appeals are made to them and the people; who are encouraged to joyn Tumults with their Petitions. Mr. Hunt, p. 30. of his Preface, says, So strong is the tie of duty on him (i.e. the King) from his Office, to prevent publick calamities, as no respect whatsoever, no not of the right Line, can discharge; nor will he himself ever think, if duly addressed, that it can. And p. 34. At this time, if ever, the applications of an active prudence are required from all honest men.

If any loyal persons make their Addresses, and publish their dislike of such Seditious Petitioners, they are branded as Abhorrrers; as if the Votes for No more Addresses to the King in 1648. were still in force. The lawfulness of Resistance is publickly printed, and even to this day defended by several Writers.

Page 22. of Mr. Hunt, *The Nation* (says he) begins to be impatient, by the delays of publick Justice against the Popish Plot: That the dissolution of Parliaments gives us cause to fear that the King hath no more business for Parliaments, p. 27. That the number of the Addressers may be reduced to the Dukes Pensioners: That the Addresses were obtained by application; and the designe was to make Votes for discontinuance of Parliaments, and for a

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Popish

*Popish Successor. And p. 12. That such as plead for the established Government, are a hired sort of Scaramouchy Zanies, Merry Andrews, and Jack Puddings : That the Succession to the Crown is the Peoples Right. And to this end Doleman or Parsons the Jesuit's Tract of Succession is reprinted, and recommended to the People. And p. 172. the King is told, if he will follow the counsel of that excellent Bill, he may live long and see good days : as if he were in danger if it pass'd not ; and so he expresseth, p. 171. If this Bill do not pass, they will take him for a wicked King too ( viz. as they took his Father ) and will say he hath no lawful Issue to succeed him, for his own sins ; and many other remarks of wickedness will they make on him. And as to the Duke, he adds, p. 193. Let him attempt the Crown notwithstanding an Act of Parliament for his Exclusion, he is all that while but attempting to make us miserable. If he be not excluded, he doth it certainly : and we will not entail a War upon the Nation, though for the sake and interest of the glorious Family of the Stuarts. And to effect this, he tells the People, That the Original and Rise of Government is in the People ; and that as they gave, so they may take it away as they see occasion : That Government is the perfect creature of men in society, made by pact and consent, and not otherwise ; most certainly*



tainly not otherwise; and therefore most certainly ordainable by the whole Community, for the safety and preservation of the whole.

The active men of the Fanatick Party had with great industry and cost got in many Members to serve in Parliament, of whom they had a very great confidence that they would promote *their designs*. Those men that had been actually in Arms against the Royal Martyr, are now esteemed the Patriots of their Country; and such as acted *loyally*, are branded, fined, and imprisoned.

The Earl of Sh. who had caused the Exchequer to be shut up, broken the Triple League, and advised a *Delenda Carthago*, being now discontented by reason of a Pique between his Royal Highness and himself, is made the Head of the Faction; and either he or the Duke must fall; and no consideration is had, whether the King and Kingdom fall with the Duke or not. Certain it is, that by the intended Association (whereof I shall here give you a Copy) it was intended to reduce the Government to a Commonwealth.

WE the Knights, &c. finding to the great grief of our hearts, the Popish Priests and Jesuits, with the Papists and their Adherents and Abettors, have for several years last past pursued a most pernicious and hellish Plot,

to root out the true Protestant Religion as a pestilent Heresie, to take away the Life of our gracious King; to subvert our Laws and Liberties, and to set up Arbitrary Power and Popery.

And it being notorious that they have been highly encouraged by the countenance and protection given and procured for them by J. D. of Y. and by their expectations of his succeeding to the Crown; and that through crafty Popish Counsels, his Designs have so far prevailed, that he hath created many and great Dependents upon him by his bestowing Offices and Preferments both in Church and State.

It appearing also to us, That by his influence mercenary Forces have been levied and kept on foot for his secret Designs, contrary to our Laws; the Officers thereof having been named and appointed by him, to the apparent hazard of his Majesties Person, our Religion and Government, if the danger had not been timely foreseen by severall Parliaments, and part of those Forces, with great difficulty, caused by them to be disbanded at the Kingdoms great Expence: And it being evident, that notwithstanding all the continual endeavours of the Parliament to deliver his Majesty from the counsels, and out of the power of the said D. yet his Interest in the Ministers of State and others have been so prevalent, that Parliaments have been unreasonably

ably prorogued and dissolved, when they have been in hot pursuit of the Popish Conspiracies, and ill Ministers of State their Assistants.

And that the said D. in order to reduce all into his own power, hath procured the Garisons, the Arms and Ammunition, and all the power of the Seas and Souldiery, and Lands belonging to these three Kingdoms, to be put into the hands of his Party and their Adherents, even in opposition to the Advice and Order of the last Parliament.

And as we considering with heavy hearts how greatly the Strength, Reputation, and Treasure of the Kingdom, both at Sea and Land, is wasted and consumed, and lost by the intricate expensive management of these wicked destructive Designs; and finding the same Councils, after exemplary Justice upon some of the Conspirators, to be still pursued with the utmost devillish Malice, and desire of Revenge; whereby his Majesty is in continual hazard of being murdered to make way for the said D.'s advancement to the Crown, and the whole Kingdom in such case is destitute of all security of their Religion, Laws, Estates, and Liberty, sad experience in the case, Queen Mary having proved the wisest Laws to be of little force to keep out Popery and Tyranny under a Popish Prince.

We have therefore endeavoured in a Parliamentary

mentary way, by a Bill for the purpose, to Ban and Exclude the said Duke from the Succession to the Crown, and to banish him for ever out of these Kingdoms of England and Ireland. But the first means of the King and Kingdoms Safety being utterly rejected, and we left almost in despair of obtaining any real and effectual security, and knowing our selves to be intrusted to advise and act for the preservation of his Majesty and the Kingdom, and being perswaded in our Consciences that the dangers aforesaid are so imminent and pressing, that there ought to be no delay of the best means that are in our power to secure the Kingdom against them. We have thought fit to propose to all true Protestants an Union amongst themselves, by solemn and sacred promise of mutual Defence and Assistance in the preservation of the true Protestant Religion, his Majesties Person and Royal State, and our Laws, Liberties, and Properties; and we hold it our bounden Duty to joyn our selves for the same intent in a Declaration of our united Affections and Resolutions in the form insuing.

**I** A. B. Do in the presence of God solemnly promise, vow, and protest to maintain and defend, to the utmost of my power, with my Person and Estate, the true Protestant Religion, against Popery and all Popish Superstition, Idolatry, or Innovation, and all those

those who do or shall endeavour to spread or advance it within this Kingdom.

I will also, as far as in me lies, maintain and defend his Majesties Royal Person and Estate ; as also the Power and Priviledge of Parliaments, the lawful Rights and Liberties of the Subject, against all Incroachments and Usurpation of Arbitrary Power whatsoever ; and endeavour entirely to disband all such Mercenary Forces as we have reason to believe were raised to advance it, and are still kept up in and about the City of *London*, to the great amazement and terrour of all the good People of the Land.

Moreover, *J. D. of T.* having publicly professed and owned the Popish Religion, and notoriously given life and birth to the damnable and hellish Plots of the Papists against his Majesties Person, the Protestant Religion, and the Government of this Kingdom ; I will never consent that the said *J. D. of T.* or any other, who is or hath been a Papist, or any ways adhered to the Papists in their wicked Designs, be admitted to the Succession of the Crown of *England* ; but by all lawful means, and by force of Arms, if need so require, according to my abilities, will oppose him, and endeavour to subdue, expel, and destroy him, if he come into *England*, or the Dominions thereof, and seek by force to set up his pre-

tended Title, and all such as shall adhere unto him, or raise any War, Tumult, or Sedition for him, or by his command, as publick Enemies of our Laws, Religion, and Country.

*To this end, we and every one of us whose hands are here under-written, do most willingly bind our selves and every one of us unto the other, joyntly and severally, in the Bond of one firm and loyal Society or Association; and do promise and vow before God, That with our joynt and particular Forces we will oppose and pursue unto destruction, all such as upon any Title whatsoever shall oppose the Just and Righteous Ends of this Association; and maintain, protect, and defend all such as shall enter into it, in the just performance of the true intent and meaning of it. And lest this just and pious Work should be any ways obstructed or hindered for want of Discipline and Conduct, or any evil-minded persons, under pretence of raising Forces for the service of this Association, should attempt or commit Disorders; we will follow such Orders as we shall from time to time receive from this present Parliament, whilst it shall be sitting, or the major part of the Members of both Houses subscribing this Association, when it shall be prorogued or dissolved; and obey such Officers as shall by them be set over us in the several*  
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*Counties, Cities, and Burroughs, until the next meeting of this or another Parliament; and will then shew the same Obedience and Submission unto it, and those who shall be of it.*

*Neither will we for any respect of Persons or Causes, or for fear, or reward, separate our selves from this Association, or fail in the prosecution thereof during our lives, upon pain of being by the rest of us prosecuted and suppressed as perjurd persons, and publick enemies to God, the King, and our Native Country.*

*To which Pains and Punishments we do voluntarily submit our selves, and every one of us, without benefit of any colour or pretence to excuse us.*

In witness of all which Premises to be inviolably kept, we do to this present Writing put our Hands and Seals, and shall be most ready to accept and admit any others hereafter into this Society and Association.

This is evidently a *Plot* to retrieve the *Good Old Cause*: and to second this, the Bill against the *Succession* ( of which I have also given you a Copy ) is *violently prosecuted*.

## A Copy of the *B I L L* against the Duke of York.

**F**Orasmuch as these Kingdoms of England and Ireland, by the wonderful providence of Almighty God, many years since have been delivered from the slavery and superstition of Popery, which had despoiled the King of his sovereign power, for that it did and doth advance the Pope of Rome to a power over Sovereign Princes, and makes him Monarch of the Universe, and doth withdraw the Subjects from their Allegiance, by pretended Absolutions from all former Oaths and Obligations to their lawful Sovereign, and by many Superstitions and Immoralities, hath quite subverted the ends of the Christian Religion: but notwithstanding that Popery hath been long since condemned by the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, for the detestable Doctrine and treasonable attempts of its Adherents against the Lives of their lawful Sovereigns, Kings and Queens of these Realms, yet the Emissaries, Priests, and Agents for the Pope of Rome resorting into this Kingdom in great numbers, contrary to the Laws thereof, have for several years late past, as well by their own devillish arts and policies, as by counsel and assistance of foreign Princes  
and



and Prelates, known enemies to these Nations, contrived and carried on a most horrid and execrable Conspiracy to destroy and murder the Person of his most sacred Majesty, and to subvert the ancient Government of these Realms. and to extirpate the Protestant Religion, and massacre the true Professors thereof: And for the better effecting their wicked designs, and encouraging their villanous Accomplices, they have traiterously seduced the Duke of York, presumptive Heir of these Crowns, to the Communion of the Church of Rome, and have inveigled him to enter into several Negotiations with the Pope, his Cardinals, and Nuntio's, for promoting the Romish Church and Interest; and by his means and procurement have advanced the power and greatness of the French King, to the manifest hazard of these Kingdoms; that by the descent of these Crowns upon a Papist, and by foreign Alliances and Assistance, they may be able to succeed in their wicked and villanous designs. And forasmuch as the Parliaments of England, according to the Laws and Statutes thereof, have heretofore, for great and weighty reasons of State, and for the publick good and common interest of this Kingdom, directed and limited the Succession of the Crown in other manner than of course it would otherwise have gone, but never had such important and urgent Reasons as at this time press and require their using  
their

*their extraordinary power in that behalf: Be it therefore enacted by the Kings most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same; and it is hereby enacted accordingly, That James Duke of York, Albany, and Ulster, having departed openly from the Church of England, and having publickly professed and owned the Popish Religion, which hath notoriously given birth and life to the most damnable and hellish Plot, by the most gracious providence of God lately brought to light, shall be excluded and disabled, and is hereby excluded and disabled for ever, from possessing, having, holding, inheriting, or enjoying the Imperial Crowns and Governments of this Realm, and these Kingdoms, and of all Territories, Countries, and Dominions; now, or which shall hereafter be under his Majesties subjection; and off and from all Titles, Rights, Prerogatives, and Revenues with the said Crowns now or hereafter to be enjoyed: And that upon the demise or death of his Majesty without Heirs of his body, (whom God long preserve) the Crowns and Governments of this Kingdom, and all Territories, Countries, and Dominions, now, or which shall hereafter be under his Majesties subjection, with all the Rights, Prerogatives, and Revenues therewith of right enjoy-*

enjoyed, and to be enjoyed, shall devolve and come upon such person who shall be next lawful Heir of the same, and who shall have always been truly and professedly of the Protestant Religion now established by Law within this Kingdom; as if the said Duke of York were actually dead: And that whatever acts of sovereign power the said Duke of York shall at any time exert or exercise, shall be taken, deemed, and adjudged, and are hereby declared and enacted High-Treason, and to be punished accordingly. And forasmuch as the peace, safety, and well being of these Kingdoms, do so intirely depend upon the due execution of, and obedience to this Law, Be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That if any person shall in anywise, at any time, during the King's life (which God long preserve) or after his demise or decease, aid, assist, counsel, or hold correspondence with the said Duke of York, who is and ought to be esteemed a perpetual Enemy to these Kingdoms and Governments, either within these Kingdoms or out of them; or shall endeavour or contrive his return into either of them, or into any of the Territories or Dominions of the same; or shall during the King's life publish or declare him to be the lawful or rightful Successor, apparent, presumptive, or other Heir to the Crown of England; or shall after the demise or decease of the King that now is, proclaim, publish,

or declare the said Duke of York to be King, or to have right or title to the Crown or Government of England or Ireland; or shall by word, writing, or printing, maintain or assert that he hath any manner of right or title to the Crown or Government of these Kingdoms, and shall be therefore convict upon the evidence of two or more lawful and credible Witnesses, shall be adjudged guilty of High-Treason, and shall suffer and forfeit as in cases of High-Treason. And forasmuch as the Duke's return and coming into any of the foresaid Kingdoms, Countries, Territories, or Dominions, will naturally conduce to bring vast mischiefs, and all the evils hereby provided against upon them, in War and Slaughter, and unspeakable Calamity, which therefore the said Duke must be presumed to designe by such his return or coming into any the foresaid Kingdoms, &c. Be it therefore likewise enacted, and it is hereby enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That if the said Duke do at any time hereafter return or come into any of the foresaid Kingdoms, &c. he shall be, and hereby is thereupon attainted of High-Treason: And all manner of persons whatsoever are authorised and required to apprehend, secure, and imprison his person; and in case of resistance made by him, or any of his Complices, to subdue, &c. imprison him or them by force of Arms.

Now let any *considering man* judge whereto these *violent proceedings* tended; when the *King's necessary Guards* be thought a *grievance*, and the executing the penal Laws on *Dissenters* be made a *grievance* of the *Subjects*, an *encouragement* to *Popery*, and *dangerous* to the *Peace* of the Kingdom: when the King may not *raise moneys* on his own *Revenues*, and his *People* will give him *none*; nay, they shall be accounted *Enemies* to the *Peace of the Nation*, that assist him: when his *Customs* shall be taken from him, and the *Oaths of Allegiance* and *Supremacy* dispensed with; the Bill for *excluding the lawful Successor* resolutely insisted on, and a *War* threatned by some, if it did not *pass*: when the D. of M. must be *restored to his Offices*, and all that should oppose the *Bill of Exclusion*, shall be dealt with as *Betrayers of the King, the Protestant Religion, and the Kingdom of England, and Pensioners of France*; and it must be taken as a *favour*, that the D. of Y. was onely to be excluded, and another would perswade him to *destroy himself*, and another threatneth in *print*, that rather than *not exclude him*, they would *exclude the whole glorious Family of the Stuarts*: when *seditious Petitions* were counted part of the *Liberty of the People*, and no *Addresses* to the King by the *Loyal Party* to be tolerated; and *public*  
*thanks*

*thanks given to a seditious Party of the City, for their manifest Loyalty to the King, their care, charge, and vigilancy for the preservation of his Majesties person and the Protestant Religion; and the King's Prerogative to call or dismiss his Great Council questioned; and they who infused fears and groundless jealousies of the Kings ruling by an Arbitrary power, did in an arbitrary manner fine and imprison divers loyal Subjects: And when it was published, That if the King should die a violent death, they would avenge it on the Papists: when the chief Ministers of State, the Bishops, the Lord Mayor, and Magistrates, and all that were eminent for their Loyalty, were already condemned, as being Popishly affected, and the Clergie branded as Projectors for the Church of Rome.*

Hereupon ( a Discovery being made by one of the *Conspirators* ) the Kings Majesty issueth his *Declaration*, 27 of July 1683. to inform his Subjects of a *Plot contrived by persons of several Perswasions, to make a general Insurrection in this Kingdom and Scotland.* And that while this *Designe* was forming, some *Villains* were carrying on that horrid and execrable *Plot of Assassinating his Majesties person, and his dearest Brother.* And a *Massacre* was to follow; wherein they principally designed for slaughter the *Officers of State, the present Lord Mayor*

*Mayor and Sheriffs of London, and others that had been most eminent for Loyalty. Upon which Discovery, James Duke of Monmouth, the Lord Melvin, Sir Jo. Cockrane, Sir Thomas Armstrong, Robert Ferguson, Richard Goode-nough, Francis Goodenough, Richard Rumbold, William Rumbold, Richard Nelthorp, Nathaniel Wade, William Tompson, James Burton, Joseph Elby, Samuel Gibbs, Francis Charleton, Joseph Tyley, Casteers and Lobb two Nonconformist-preachers, Edward Norton, John Row, John Ayloff, and John Atherton, fled from Justice, Ford Lord Grey made his escape, Arthur Earl of Essex killed himself in the Tower: Wil-liam Lord Russel, Thomas Walcot, William Hone, and John Rous, were on their Tryals convicted and executed. And it is observa-ble, that each of them confessed enough to clear the Justice of the Nation. The most that they could plead for themselves, was, that their Crime could amount onely to misprision of Treason.*

*Algernoon Sidney (another of the Conspi-rators) was tryed, condemned, and execu-ted afterward; who professed to die for the Old Cause wherein he had been engaged from his youth. And indeed, he was so far engaged, that being named for one of the Royal Mar-tyr's Judges, he often appeared at his Tryal. And Manus hæc inimica Tyrannis, was his Motto.*

The Earl of *Shaftsbury* had been indicted of High-Treason, 24 Novemb. 1681. for endeavouring to depose and put to death the King and levy war within the Kingdom: he having declared, That in a short time the Parliament was to sit at Oxford, and that he had inspected the Elections, and was satisfied that the Parliament would insist on three matters (viz.) The Bill of Exclusion against the Duke of York. The abolishing the Act of Parliament of the 35 of Queen *Elizabeth*, and a new Bill for uniting Protestant Dissenters; which he was confident the King would not consent to: and so, that he and other Lords had provided strength to compel him, under the command of Captain *Wilkinson* and *John Booth*: he declared the King to be a man of no faith, and there was no trust in him: That he deserved to be deposed as well as King *Richard the second*. And the said Earl further declared, That he would not desist till he brought this Kingdom to a Commonwealth, as *Holland* was: That the King was a man of an unfaithful heart, not fit to rule and govern, being false, unjust, and cruel to his people; and if he would not be governed they would depose him. Though the Witnesses swore positively to the particulars, yet there was such a Jury provided, as brought in an *Ignoramus*, Sir *Sam. Bernardiston* being their Foreman; who hath since been found guilty of *Misdemeanors* of a high nature.



During the late seditious *Stirs* and *Tumults*, none was more active than one *Stephen Colledge*, (a *Joyner* of *London*) a pragmatistical person, that pleased himself with the title of *The Protestant Joyner*; he had been busie for a long time, sowing *Sedition*, and talking *Treason* so openly, that his Friends advised him to forbear, lest he came to the *Gallows*. He made it his business to serve some *dissenting Lords*, boasting of his acquaintance with the *Earl of Shaftsbury*, *Lords Gray*, *Howard*, *Clare*, *Huntington*, *Pagit*, *Lovelace*, &c. He had fitted his *Raree Show*, and scandalous *Songs* and *Pictures* reflecting on the *Royal Family*. The sole pretence for his *treasonable actions*, was his zeal against *Papists*, who (he said) had feigned seventeen or eighteen *Sham-plots* against the *Protestants*: he affirmed that *London* was to be seized by the *Papists*, and that they had a *designe* against the *Parliament* at *Oxford*; and therefore he, with some others whom he had perswaded, came well armed thither. Divers *Ribbons* were provided as a *mark of distinction*; bearing this Motto: NO POPERY, NO SLAVERY; one of which he gave to *Turbervil*, and it was proved, as the *Lord Chief Justice* said at the close of the Tryal, whom he called *Papists*: The *King* was a *Papist*, the *Bishops* and the *Church of England* were *Papists*.

He was indicted for *High-Treason*, the 17 and 18 of *August* 1681, it being proved that he said, *That nothing of good was to be expected from the King: That he minded nothing but beastlineſs, and the destruction of the people: That he endeavoured to eſtabliſh Arbitrary Government and Popery.* Dugdale, Smith, and Turbervil, who had been Witneſſes againſt the Lord Stafford, were of the Evidence againſt him; though there were enough, if *theſe* had been laid aſide, to have proved him guilty.

Mr. Masters testified againſt him, p. 31. That he ſaid, *The Parliament in 1640. was as good a Parliament as ever was choſen.* To which Mr. Masters answered, *I wonder how you have the impudence to juſtifie their proceedings that raiſed the Rebellion againſt the King, and cut off his head.* To which Colledge replied, *They did nothing but what they had juſt cauſe for; and the Parliament at Weſtmiſter was of their Opinion,* p. 31. And being demanded what he had to ſay againſt this testimony; he answers, *That Mr. Masters had ſaid nothing material, and that it was but a jochoſe diſcourſe,* p. 39. To which Mr. Juſtice Jones replied, *Do you make mirth of the blackeſt Tragedy that ever was, that horrid Rebellion, and the murder of the late King?* Colledge answered, *I never juſtified that Parliament in*  
any

any thing that they did contrary to Law.

One Mr. Jennings, who was another Witness, testified, that on the bleeding of Colledge's Nose, he said, *It was the first blood that he lost in the Cause, but it will not be long ere more be lost.* He saw him sell the Ribbons with NO POPERY, NO SLAVERY, to a Parliament-man as he supposed, who tyed it on his Sword, &c. p. 32.

It is observed in the Tryal, that there was not one Papist that gave evidence against him; and that they were such of whom Colledge had formerly given a good Character; though now the case was altered. The Jury were so well satisfied with the Evidence, that they quickly agreed, and brought him in guilty: and so he was condemned and executed at Oxford, on Wednesday 31 of August 1681.

Captain Tho. Walcot was indicted for High-Treason at the Old-Baily, July 12, &c. 1683. for endeavouring to move and stir up War and Rebellion against the King, to deprive the King of his Crown, and to put him to death; for which he conspired with divers other Traytors, and had several meetings and consults to those ends, and provided Blunderbusses, Carbines, and Pistols, &c. Which being proved by Col. Rumsey, Mr. Keeling, Mr. Bowne, Mr. West, and Captain Richardson, he was found guilty, sentenced, and executed. N 3 Then

Then was *William Hone* arraigned on the like Indictment ; the Evidence against him were *Mr. Keeling*, *Mr. West*, *Sir Nicholas Butler*, and *Capt. Richardson* : upon whose testimonies he was found guilty, and executed also.

July 13. the Lord *Russel* was tryed for endeavouring to raise a Rebellion, to seize and destroy the Kings Guards, to deprive the King, and put him to death. The Attorney-General urged, *That the Duke of Monmouth, the Lord Gray, Sir Tho. Armstrong, Mr. Ferguson, and this Lord, with the Earl of Essex then dead, were of a Council for a general Rising; to which end they received several Messages from the Earl of Shaftsbury, who being disappointed by Mr. Trenchard, who had promised to raise a thousand Foot and two or three hundred Horse, he and Ferguson left the Kingdom.* The Witnesses were *Col. Rumsey, Mr. Shepherd*, and the Lord *Howard*, on whose evidence he was found guilty, and sentenced to die ; and accordingly he was beheaded in *Lincolns-Inne-Fields*, July 21. 1683.

The next was the Tryal of *Mr. Rous*, against whom *Mr. Leigh, Mr. Lee, Mr. Corbin, Mr. Richardson*, gave such evidence, that he was presently found guilty, and received sentence to die ; and was executed accordingly.

Captain

Captain *Blague* being indicted for conspiring to seize the *Tower of London*, received his Tryal, but was acquitted.

*Algernon Sidney* was tryed at the Kings-Bench-Bar, on the 7th, 21th, and 27th of November 1683. His Indictment was almost the same as the former, onely there was added to it, his sending of *Aaron Smith* into Scotland to excite and stir up the Subjects to a Rebellion there; and his being the Author of a traiterous Libel, containing, among other seditious discourses, these words (*viz.*) *The power originally in the People of England is delegated unto the Parliament: He (the most serene Lord Charles the Second now King of England meaning) is subject unto the Law of God, as he is a man; to the People that makes him a King, inasmuch as he is a King: the Law sets a measure unto that Subjection, and the Parliament judges of particular cases thereupon arising. He must be content to submit his interest to theirs, since he is no more than any one of them in any other respect, than that he is by the consent of all, raised above any other. If he doth not like this condition, he may renounce the Crown: but if he receive it upon that condition (as all Magistrates do the power they receive) and swear to perform it, he must expect that the performance will be exacted, or revenge taken by those that he hath betrayed.*

And in other places these traiterous Sentences are contained: *viz.* *We may therefore change or take away Kings without breaking any Toke, or that is made a Toke which is not one: the injury is therefore in making and imposing, and there can be none in breaking it, &c.* In p. 23, 24, 25, & 26. many other things were read at the Tryal, out of that *Libel*; particularly p. 26. where speaking of a King, he says, *When the matter is brought to that, that he must not reign, or the People over whom he would reign must perish, it is easily decided. As if the Question had been asked in the time of Nero or Domitian, whether they should be left at liberty to destroy the best part of the world, as they endeavoured to do, or it should be rescued by their destruction!* And as for the Peoples being Judges in their own case, it is plain they ought to be the onely Judges, because it is their own, and onely concerns themselves. The Attorney-General (p. 13.) says, *The whole Book is an Argument for the People to rise in Arms and vindicate their Wrongs.* He (i.e. Sidney) lays it down, *That the King hath no authority to dissolve the Parliament: but 'tis apparent the King hath dissolved many; therefore he hath broken his Trust, and invaded our Rights.* And concludes, *We may therefore shake off the Toke: for 'tis not a Toke we submitted to, but a Toke by Tyranny (that is the meaning of it) imposed on us.* The

The Witnesses who swore to the Indictment were Mr. *West*, Col. *Rumsey*, Mr. *Kee-ling*, the Lord *Howard*, Sir *Andrew Foster*, Mr. *Atterbury*, Sir *Philip Lloyd*, Mr. *Shepherd*, Mr. *Cary*, and Mr. *Cooke* : upon whose evidence the Jury found him guilty of High-Treason; and accordingly sentence was pronounced against him, and he was executed on *Tower-hill*, Decemb. 7. 1683.

I shall adde onely a few *Remarks* on the dying *Speeches* and *Confession* of these men : and first of Col. *Sidney*. He had no other Apology for himself, but that he had been engaged from his youth in that *Old Cause* ; for which he prayed, in these words : *Defend thine own Cause, and defend those that defend it : stir up such as are faint, direct those that are willing, confirm those that waver ; give wisdom and integrity unto all---Grant that I may die glorifying thee for all thy mercies, and that at the last thou hast permitted me to be singled out as a Witness of thy Truth, and even by the confession of my Opposers, for that Old Cause in which I was from my youth engaged, and for which thou hast often and wonderfully declared thy self.* Now the *Old Cause* wherein Col. *Sidney* was engaged, was the destruction of the *Church*, and the *Royal Martyr*, to set up a *Commonwealth* ; in which he acted as a *Colonel*,

nel, and one of the *Judges* of the *Royal Martyr*: yet he calls these Treasons *Gods Truth*. In what Religion this Gentleman died, God onely knows: for he made no profession at all, whether *Presbyterian, Independent, Anabaptist, or Quaker*; but a *Protestant at large*, as any of those Factions term themselves.

As to the Lord *Russel*, he was also unhappily engaged in the same *OLD CAUSE* from his youth, as may appear by the following Relation. Mr. *Johnson*, the Author of the *Life of Julian*, confirmed him in his riper

\* This *Lewis* was a stickling *Presbyterian*, that had gotten the Sequestration of *Totnam-high-cross* from Mr. *Wimpey* a loyal Minister of the Church of *England*. To this *Lewis* many Noblemen and Gentlemen sent their Sons for Education: among whom was the late Lord *Russel*. And to divert his Scholars, he composed a *Farce*, wherein the young Gentlemen were to be *Actors*. The *Farce* had all the Formalities of a *High Court of Justice*; President, Solicitor, Witnesses, &c. The *Criminal* was an old Shock *Water-Dog*, which he called *Charles Stuart*. This Dog was arraigned, tryed, condemned, and executed by cutting off his head. By which action he instilled the Principles of *King-killing* into his Scholars; as if the murdering of a *King*, were no more than the cutting off a *Dogs neck*.

And it was long before his acquaintance with  
this

years in those opinions which  
\* Mr. *Lewis* and Dr. *Manton* had educated him. For Mr. *Johnson* having written that *Traiterous Book*, to defend the mischievous Doctrine of *Resistance*, this unhappy man could not be extricated from that snare, to his death.



this *Seditious Author*, that Dr. Manton, a great *Abettor of the first War*, and a *Favourite of Cromwel*, had instilled the same Principles into him. For in his *Comment on St. James 4. 1.* he proposeth this Question: *Whether Religion may be defended by Arms?* To which he answers; *That sometime the outward exercise of Religion and Worship may be established and secured by Laws; and among other Privileges and Rights; the liberty of pure Worship may be one; which being invaded by Violence, may be defended by Arms. --- The Estates of a Kingdom may maintain their Religion against the tyranny and malice of the Prince.*

This Doctor had the greatest influence on the *Education* of that Noble Gentleman, being a Chaplain to the Family, and Preacher at *Covent-garden* for many years. It is also very observable what this Gentleman says in his *Paper delivered to the Sheriffs*, where he *blesst God that he fell by the Ax, and not by the fiery tryal*; as if it were safer to die as a Traytor than a Martyr. --- But he says, *Whatever apprehensions I had of Popery, and OF MY OWN SEVERE and heavy share I was like to have under it when it should prevail.*

The Lord *Russel* in all probability had some regard to the loss of those *Lands* which descended from his *Ancestors*, but had been in  
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the days of *Henry the Eighth* alienated from the *Church*, and which by the return of *Poper*y, might be taken from his Family. And he being perswaded, as he expresseth it in that Speech—*I did believe, and do still, that Popery is breaking in upon the Nation ; and that those who advance it, will stop at nothing to carry on their designe ; he on the other side would stop at nothing to keep it out.* This most likely made him so zealous for the *Bill of Exclusion* ; and unhappily engaged him ( the *Bill* being it self excluded ) in this other desperate Attempt : for, as *Solomon* observed, *It is a snare to a man to devour that which is holy.* And indeed there is no other means so likely to bring in *Poper*y, as the impotent and unlawful outcrys and endeavours of *Fanatical persons* pretending to keep it out. Religion is for the most part made a *Cloak* and *Pretence* to serve Interest.

In *Queen Mary's* days, when the *Pope* solicited the *Queen* for a *restoration of Churchlands and Dignities*, it was first proposed to the *Cabinet-Council* ; where the *Lord of Bedford* being present, and knowing himself greatly concerned, fell into a great passion ; and breaking his *Chaplet of Beads* from his girdle, flung them into the fire, swearing deeply, *That he valued his sweet Abbey of Woburn more than any fatherly Counsel or Com-*  
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*mands that could come from Rome. Whereupon the Queen considering of what temper others of the Nobility might be, was discouraged from prosecuting that designe.*

*This Lord delivered a Paper to the Sheriffs, wherein he acknowledgeth that when he was at a meeting at Mr. Shepherd's, there was some discourse about the feasibility of seizing the King's Guards: and several times by accident in general discourse elsewhere (saith he) I have heard it mentioned as a thing easie to be done; particularly at my Lord Shaftsbury's; but never consented to it as fit to be done. That the Duke of Monmouth told him he was glad that he was come to Town; for my Lord Shaftsbury and some hot men would undo them all, if great care were not taken. That being at Mr. Shepherd's with a Company that met there, there were things said by some with more heat than judgment. And it is by some inferred (saith he) that I was acquainted with these heats and ill designs, and did not discover them: but this is but misprision of Treason. He says, Nothing was sworn against him but some discourse about making some Stirs; and this is not levying War against the King, which is Treason, and not the consulting and discoursing about it, which was all that was witnessed against me: and the designe of seizing the Guards, was construed a designe of killing the King; and in that I was cast.*

*Cap-*

Captain Walcot in his last Speech said, I do neither blame the Judges nor Jury, nor the Kings Council: I only blame some men that in reality and truth were deeper concerned than I, that came as Witnesses against me. He confesseth that he was invited by Col. Romsey to some meetings where some things were discoursed of in order to asserting their Liberties and Properties, which they looked on to be invaded and violated: That Mr. West often discoursed with him concerning lopping off the two Sparks, meaning the King and the Duke; and proposed it might be done at a Play, saying, that then they would die in their Calling: That he bought Arms to that end, and said they had fifty employed to that end: That he told them the killing the King would carry such a blemish and stain with it, as would descend to Posterity; and that he having eight Children, he was loath they should be blemished with it: That by the Law of the Land he ought to die, for being in those meetings where a War was debated. Being asked by Dr. Cartwright whether the death of the King was proposed while he was there; he answered, It was so, and that he and those Lords who were like to suffer, were under general apprehensions of Popery and Slavery coming in. And he confessed to the Doctor, He was guilty enough to have his life taken away; adding, The same measure we mete to another,

*no other, that measure God will mete to us. So that on this mans Confession, if there were no other, (considering the circumstances wherein he was, being a person formerly engaged in the Rebellion, a man of Estate and Parts.) nothing can be more evident than both parts of the Plot (viz.) to raise a Rebellion, and to murder the King and his Royal Brother.*

Which was farther confessed by Mr. Hone, who told Dr. Cartwright that he was guilty of the Crime according to the Law of the Land, and to the Law of God; that he was to meet the King and Duke of York, but did not know at that time when or where, nor what was his business; and afterward, that he told Mr. Kee-ling he was for killing the King, and saving the Duke of York; for which being asked a reason, he answered, *As to that, I think this, That the Duke of York did openly profess himself to be a Roman Catholick, and I did say I had rather dispose of the King than the Duke of York.* And being asked again by the Doctor, *Had you rather a Papist should reign over us, as you take him to be, than the King?* he replied, *I do not know what to say to that.*

Captain Walcot it seems had said of Rous, that *he would die an Atheist*: and in truth, such bloody men are no better; they are of the mind that Colonel Morly and some other  
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Commanders in Cromwel's Army were, who said, *They would cast themselves on any Prince, even on the Turk, rather than suffer themselves to be subdued by the King.* But this Mr. Rous did confess, *That since the Hurly-burlies concerning Parliaments going off and coming on, he had been a hearer, and understood too much of some kind of Meetings, and especially of those that call themselves Protestants, who are ten thousand times worse than any others; and prayed God to forgive him that he had not been as careful and diligent, and as ready and forward to discover them a great while since.* I gave his Majesty (says he) an account to the best of my knowledge, and he seemed to be well pleased, and thank't me for it: but before I had power to put it in writing, the Council thought it fit that I should be committed to Prison. That there was a designe to set up the Duke of Monmouth, I will not say, while the King reigns; though some extravagant hot-headed men have taken upon them to discourse these things, but not any worthy man. I know those that have been worthy to be called by that name, have declared in my hearing, that in opposition to the Duke of York, if the King be seized, they would stand by the Duke of Monmouth. There are others that were for a Commonwealth, and some few for the Duke of Bucks. He confesseth, that Goodenough told him the King was to be taken

taken off as he came from Windsor; that they wanted a place of meeting in order to it; and the place pitched on was Black-heath, where Rous advised that a Ball of Silver worth thirty or forty pound might be thrown up, and the people invited to come and drink a Bowl of Punch: which would have gathered thirty or forty thousand in two or three days time: That this Goodenough spake in base Language concerning the Duke of York, calling him Rogue and Dog, and that we will do his work; and that after the Kings decease, the Duke of Monmouth having a Vogue with the People, must of necessity succeed. And he confessed that it was just in God, and righteous and just in the King, that he died.

On the 6th of February 1683. in Hillary-Term, John Hambden Esq; was tryed at the Kings-Bench-Bar, upon an Indictment of High Misdemeanour, for assembling, meeting, consulting, &c. with divers ill-disposed Subjects of the King, to disquiet, molest, and disturb, and, as much as in him lay, to incite, stir up, and procure Sedition within this Kingdom of England; and further, to cause an Insurrection, and to provide Arms and armed men for that purpose. And also, for that he did consult, agree and consent that a person should be sent into Scotland to invite and incite divers ill-disposed

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passed people to come into England to consult and advise with him and others here, concerning aid and assistance from thence to bring about their designs. He pleaded Not guilty: but upon a full and fair hearing, he was found Guilty and Fined forty thousand pounds. Which Sentence was given the 12th of February being the last day of the said Term. The Witnesses were, James Duke of Monmouth (but he did not appear) William Lord Howard, whose evidence is supported by Sir Andrew Foster, Mr. Atterbury, one Sheriff that lodg'd Aaron Smith at Newcastle, and Ben that directed him the way into Scotland. The Lord Chief Justice tells the Jury, That if there were another Witness as positive against the Defendant as my Lord Howard, the matter would amount to no less than High-Treason.

The next day (being the 7th of February 1683.) Lawrence Braddon and Henry Speke, Gent. were tryed upon an Information of High Misdemeanour, Subornation, and spreading False Reports, at the Court of Kings-Bench; for that whereas the Earl of Essex on the 10th of July in the thirty fifth year of the King, was committed to the Tower for High Treasons supposed to be committed; on the 13th did there kill and murder himself, as appeared by an Inquest taken in the Tower the 14th day



of July in the year aforesaid: They, not being ignorant thereof, but contriving and maliciously and seditiously intending to bring the Kings Government into hatred, disgrace, and contempt, did conspire and endeavour to make the Kings Subjects to believe that the said Inquisition was unduly taken, and that the said Earl was murdered by some person in whose custody he was. And to bring this to effect, they procured false Witnesses to prove it. And to perswade others to the belief of it, they caused to be declared in writing, that the said Braddon would prosecute the matter. This is the sum of the Indictment. To which they pleaded Not guilty.

*How the Intrigue was managed, in brief.*

*July 1683*

The 13th of ~~February~~ in the morning, the King and Duke going to visit the Tower, in the interim of their being there, that dreadful accident of the Earl of *Essex* cutting his own throat happen'd. The rumour of the one and the other, caused a great concourse of people. Among the rest, there was one *Edwards* his son, a School-boy of about thirteen years old, that having played Truant in the Tower that morning upon this occasion, thought it best to tell some strange story when he came home to Dinner, to palliate his Truantry; and accordingly goes home

and tells his Mother and Sisters that he saw a hand throw a Razor out of the window of the Earl of *Essex* his Chamber. They were surpris'd at this, and charged the Boy to tell truth, and not to tell lyes to excuse his play, as he used to do. He persisted in it. Mr. *Braddon* being told of this Boy, goes to his fathers house, pretending he came from Sir *Henry Capel* and the Countess, to examine the Boy : which when he had done, he writes a Paper, and reads it to the Boy, for him to signe. The Boy refuses to signe it, because ( he said ) the whole matter was a lye. So *Braddon* went away : but coming another time, he got the Boy to signe it, telling him it was no harm. He also found out a Girl of about the same age, that said she saw a hand throw out a bloody Razor, but from whose window she knows not : and she said many others saw it, but she could name none. *Braddon* goes with this to Sir *Henry Capel*, desiring his assistance in the prosecution of the Earl's murder : but Sir *Henry* directs him to a Secretary of State, it being of publick concern. He goes to a Secretary, has his little Witnesses examined before the King in Council, and the business found false and frivolous. Mr. *Braddon* would not rest here ( being in Conscience bound to prosecute the Murder, as he alleadg'd ) but resolves for the Country,

try; and goes to one Mr. *Speke*, desiring his Letter commendatory to Sir *Robert Atkins* in *Gloucester-shire*: which was granted by that Gentleman, who also sent his man along with him, to defend him from Assaults. To colour this, it was pretended that *Braddon* had word sent him that my Lords death was discoursed the same day it was done, at *Marlborough*, and at the Posthouse in *Frome*; nay at *Andover*, two or three days before it happened. Mr. *Speke's* Letter to Sir *Robert Atkins*, concerning *Braddon* (which he had about him when taken) commends his great integrity and courage, thanking the person 'twas writ to for great kindness to him and his friends; hoping to get my Lords Murder tryed before the Tryal of any in the Tower; saying the *Tyde* run strong against them: and he must not be called *Braddon*, but *Johnson*, for fear of being knockt on the head: he desires the Knights directions in the management. He says Mr. *Braddon* has been at great charge and trouble already; and he knows few that would have undertaken it but himself.

And all this pains was taken, to insinuate to the people, that because the King and Duke were that morning walking in the Tower, about the time this Murder was done, therefore they designed it. *How base, how devilish, and hellish a designe is this!* (as my

Lord Chief Justice juffly exclaims.) After a long and fait Tryal, they were found guilty; but continued under Bail till next Term, when, on *April 21. Braddon* was Fined 2000 *l.* and to find Sureties for good behaviour during life, and be imprisoned till performed; and *Speke* (as being not so guilty, being only concern'd in the Letter) 1000 *l.* with Sureties also for good behaviour during life, and imprisonment till performed.

Among the rest of the late Conspirators, was one *James Holloway* (a forward busie young man, Inhabitant of *Bristol*) who having been acquainted with all the Methods, and attended on all the motions of the Designe (without effect, blessed be God) till its discovery, then sensible of his guilt and danger, thought it time to consult his own safety; and leaving *London* in a disguise, he ranged severall parts of *England* as a dealer in Wool, till he could find an opportunity to take shipping: which having obtained, he set sail; and after some loss of time by stress of Weather, he made *Antegua* in the *West-Indies*, resolving to visit the rest of the *Caribby Islands* also, and so to *St. Christophers*: which he judging to be the safest place, sent thence to his Factor at *Nevis* about some concerns he had there; which Factor discovered him; whereupon *Sir William Stapleton* sent

to *St. Christophers* to apprehend him ; and thence brought him to *Nevis*, where he was prisoner thirteen days, and then sent for *England* ; where being come, he was examined before the King in Council, and committed to *Newgate*, till *Easter-Term* 1684. he was brought to the *Kings Bench-Bar*, to shew cause why he should not suffer death (he having been Outlawed for High-Treason in his absence.) He told the Court he had nothing to say, having told all he knew to his Majesty, from whom he hoped mercy. The Court told him they had nothing to do with the Kings mercy; but they had leave to let him take a Tryal, notwithstanding the Outlawry, whereby he might have opportunity to make his defence, if he had any thing to say for himself. But he declaring that he had nothing more to say, a day was set by the Court for his execution (as is usual in Outlawries) which was done at *Tyburn* on the 30th of *April* 1684. He had liberty to speak there what he pleased, and held a long Dialogue with the Sheriffs; delivering them a Paper (which he acknowledged to be his own writing) which is a kind of Epitome of what he had before deliver'd to Mr. Secretary *Jenkins*. And so after a short Prayer, he was hang'd drawn and quarter'd, and his Quarters brought back to *Newgate*, and sent thence to *Bristol*, which

should have been the Scene of his activity in this cursed Tragedy.

He says in his Paper delivered to the Secretary, that asking one *Tyly* of *Bristol*, *What News* ( *July 1681* ) he told him, *All naught; and if some speedy course be not taken, we shall be all undone: for---they have got Sheriffs to their minds---(naming North and Rich ) who will find Jurors to believe any evidence against a Protestant: and so hang up all the Kings friends by degrees.* He told him also, that all the Protestant Gentry, naming the *Earl of Shaftsbury*, *Lord Howard of Elicrick*, and others, were come to a resolution, seeing fair means would not do, but all things on the Protestant side are misrepresented to the King by such great Criminals, and none more in favour than those, to take the King from his evil Counsel, and that by an Insurrection in---*London, Bristol, Taunton, Exeter, Chester, Newcastle, York, and other places in the North; and that there would be a considerable party in Scotland, and another in Ireland.* Mr. *West* told him there was a designe to take off the King and the Duke coming from *Newmarket*---to prevent bloodshed. *Holloway* dislikes that, saying the designe was onely to take the King from his evil Counsel. He calls it a **PROTESTANT PLOT.**

He saith to the Sheriff, *I hope it will be a*  
*satis-*

*satisfaction that there was a Plot. Again, I pray God that no other people may concern themselves with Publick affairs out of their own way; and that the Scriblers might be put down; for they do more to the Kingdom than any thing else: Which was both the beginning and end of his discourse with the Sheriffs.*

*And he begins his Paper left with the Sheriffs, with exclaiming against Pamphleteers and News-Scriblers. And afterwards---And did by some Scriblers and News-mongers constantly know most publick affairs---which they undertook to represent according to their own humour.*

*He declares his hearty sorrow for yielding thereto, or acting therein, being satisfied it might have caused very much bloodshed in the Nation. He concludes: I repent not my Confession; and could I discover more, would do it throughly, though I find not mercy with man.*

*On Thursday, Feb. 14. 1684. Sir Samuel Bernardiston was Tryed and Convicted for High Misdemeanour, at the Sessions of Nisi Prius holden at Guild-hall, London.*

*It was upon an Information exhibited by the Attorney-General, wherein is set forth, That there having been lately a horrid Plot discovered, Sir Samuel Bernardiston intending to scandalize the Evidence, wrote a Letter containing these Sentences: The*

The return of the Duke of Monmouth to White-hall, and his being received into extraordinary Favour of his Majesty, hath made a strange alteration of affairs at Court: for those that before spake of him very indecently, now court, cringe, and creep to him. His Grace complain- ed to the King of the scandalous misrepresenta- tion that was made of him in the Mondays Gazette, upon which the Gazetter was called to account for it, who alleadged for himself, that a Person of great Quality sent him in writing the words therein recited, commanding him to put them in the Gazette. Yesterday being the last day of the Term, all the Prisoners that were in the Tower upon the late Sham Protestant Plot, were discharged upon Bail. Mr. Brad- don who prosecuted the Murder of the Earl of Essex, the Information put in against him in the Kings-Bench by Mr. Attorney, for a pretended Subornation, &c. was not prosecuted, and his Bail was discharged. And the passing Sentence upon the Author of Julian the Apostate, and the Printer of the late Lord Russel's Speech, was passed over with silence. Great applicati- ons are made to his Majesty for the pardoning Mr. Sidney in the Tower, which is believed will be attained, and that he will be banished. The Lord Howard appears despicable in the eyes of all men; he is under guard at White-hall, and 'tis believed will be sent to the Tower, for that

the



the Duke of Monmouth will accuse him concerning the Testimony he hath given: and the Papists and High Tories are quite down in the mouth, their Pride is abated, themselves and their Plot confounded; but their Malice is not asswaged. 'Tis generally said, the Earl of Essex was murdered. The brave Lord Russel is a fresh lamented. The Plot is lost here, except you in the Country can find it out amongst the Addressers and Abhorers. This sudden turn is an Amazement to all men, and must produce some strange Events, which a little time will shew.

And then he goes on further, and says in another Letter, these words:-

- I am to answer yours of the 27th and 29th past; and truly I cannot but with great sorrow lament the loss of our good Friend honest Mr. John Wright: but with patience we must submit to the Almighty, who can as well raise up Instruments to do his work, as change hearts, of which we have so great an instance in the business of the Duke of Monmouth, that no Age or History can parallel. I am now thoroughly satisfied, that what was printed in the Mondays Gazette is utterly false, and you will see it publicly declared so shortly. The King is never pleased but when he is with him, hath commanded all the Privy-Council to wait upon him, and happy is he that hath most of his favour. His

Pardon

*Pardon was sealed and delivered to him last Wednesday. 'Tis said he will be restored to be Master of the Horse, and be called into the Council-Table, and to all his other places; and 'tis reported he will be made Captain-General of all the Forces, and Lord High Admiral, &c. He treats all his old Friends that dayly visit him with great Civilities; they are all satisfied with his integrity, and if God spares his life, doubt not but he will be an Instrument of much good to the King and Kingdom. He said publickly, That he knew my Lord Russel was as loyal a Subject as any in England, and that his Majesty believed the same now. I intend shortly to wait on him my self. It would make you laugh to see how strangely our High-Tories and Clergie are mortified; their Countenances speak it. Were my Shescrary to be moved for now, it would be readily granted. Sir George is grown very humble; 'Tis said Mr. Sidney is reprieved for forty days, which bodes well.*

And then he goes on further, and in a third Letter says,

*The late change here in publick affairs is so great and strange, that we are like men in a dream, can hardly believe what we see, and fear we are not fit for so great a mercy as the present juncture seems to promise. The Sham Protestant Plot is quite lost and confounded. The Earl of Mackensfield is bringing Actions of Scandalis*

*Scandalis Magnatum against all the Grand Jury-men that indicted him at last Assizes.*

And then in a fourth Letter are contained these Expressions:

*Contrary to all mens expectations, a Warrant is signed at last for beheading Col. Sidney at Tower-hill next Friday. Great endeavours have been used to obtain his Pardon, but the contrary Party have carried it, which much dasheth our hopes: but God still governs.*

He pleaded Not guilty: but the Jury found him Guilty without stirring from the Bar.

*April 14.* he was brought to the Kings Bench-Bar to receive Judgment of the Court; which was, That he should pay a Fine of Ten thousand pounds to the King, should find Sureties for his good behaviour during his life, and should be committed to the Kings Bench Prison till the same was paid and done.

By that which hath been said, it clearly appears how near a Correspondence there hath been between the *Jesuit* and *Fanatick* both in *Principles* and *Practices*; and that the *Government* and *Church established* hath been the onely *Bulwork* against *Popery*, that hath withstood all its *assaults*, though assisted by the *united force* of the *Fanaticks*. Yet all this notwithstanding, we still suffer under the  
impu-

imputation of *Popery*; our *Worship* is still calumniated as *Popish*; and for any to return to our *Communion*, is to make a step towards *Rome*: the Ministers of our Church are accused as *disguised Emissaries* of the *Romish Church*; and the Arguments used for *Conformity*, are but endeavours to pervert men to the *Papal Superstition*: our *Common-prayer* is but the *Mass in English*; kneeling at the Sacrament, worshipping of the *Host*: our Bishops *Antichristian*, and our Clergy *Factors for Rome*. And by these slanders, the *Fanaticks* have employed the *aversion* of the people against the corruptions of *Rome*, to a direct opposition against the *Church of England*, which, above any of the reformed Churches, hath most strenuously and successfully opposed it.

And it will easily appear, that the leading *Fanaticks* have misled their Disciples with more invincible prejudice and implicit faith than any of the *Popish Priests* do their *Proselytes*; who can persuade them, that that Church which hath so peremptorily disclaimed the *Popes Supremacy*, *Infallibility*, *Worship*, *Prayers in an unknown Tongue*, adding to the number of *Sacraments*, and detracting essential parts from those which they retain: That the *Church of England*, which in their *Articles*, *Homilies*, and *Liturgie*, have exceeded all the reformed Churches in their detestation

on

on of *Papish Doctrines*; that have still built on the foundations of *Reformation* laid by *Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer*; which hath still been chiefly *maligned*, and from its infancy *assaulted* by the *Romanists* as its greatest *Adversary*, should now be *reproached* by those, who in this serve the *Romish* interest more than their own, as well-willers to the Church of *Rome*.

And in truth, there needs no other Argument to prove how ignorant this sort of men are of the great *corruptions* of *Rome*, that forsake our Church, on a persuasion that we have embraced *those corruptions*: for either they expect that we should renounce *all things* that they retain, and then once more we must lay aside the *Creed*, the *Commandments*, the *Lords Prayer*, &c. or that we should retain and practise *nothing* that was practised in the *Primitive Church*, long before Popery was known in the World. And it is very apparent, that we have not more *displeased* the *Fanatics* by retaining those *decent Ceremonies* and *ancient Orders* of the *Primitive Church*, than we have *incensed* the *Papists* by retaining of them: for by these *Apostolical Orders* and *Rules of Decency*, we have such a *beauty* added to *Holiness*, as was in use in the most *pure* and *primitive times*, free from the *Innovations* and *Superstitions* of  
*Rome* :

*Rome* : and this hath raised the *envy* of that *Church*, as well as the *causeless malice* of *Dis-senters* against us : what these rail against as *Popish* (*viz.* our *Government, Worship, Discipline, and Ceremonies*) the other behold with *grief*, and *envy* to see a *Church* much nearer to the *primitive constitution* than their own.

I doubt not but the Reader will joyn with me in this Opinion, that it is a *necessary duty* incumbent on all sorts of *Fanaticks* that have accused our *Church* and *Government* of *Pope-ry*, for retaining those *innocent* and *indifferent things* agreeable to the *primitive practice*, to make a publick declaration of their abhorrence of *Romish principles and practices*, such as I have already charged them withal. To which I may adde their claiming of a *Supremacy* above *Princes* and *Parliaments* in matters *Ecclesiastical*, and divers other things, which are the most *pernicious* and *Antichristian Doctrines and Practices* of that *Church*; which have drawn the greatest *reproach* and *odium* on the *Reformation*. And if they would heartily perform this duty, I doubt not but they would see a necessity of *returning* to the *Communion* of the *Church* as it is now established; and to *assist* her in her *conflicts* against the *Church of Rome* : than which, there is no means more probable to keep out that *Pope-ry* against which they pretend so great an *aversion*.

version. And to induce them hereunto, I shall recommend to their serious consideration how far the Principles and Practices of the *Jesuits* under the name of *Doleman*, and of the old *Regicides* under that of *Bradshaw*, and our new *Conspirators* under the Notions of *Sidney*, do agree, as it is fitted to my hand in this Parallel.

# THE PARALLEL.

## I. DOLEMAN.

There can be no doubt, but that the *Commonwealth* hath power to *chuse* their own *fashion* of Government, as also to *change* the same upon reasonable Causes. In like manner is it evident, that as the *Commonwealth* hath this Authority to *chuse* and *change* her Government, so hath she also to *limit* the same with what *Laws* and *Conditions* she *pleaseth*. Conference about Succession, part 1. cap. 1. pag. 12, 13.

All Law, both Natural, National, and Positive, doth teach us, That Princes are subject to Law and Order ; and that the *Common-*  
P *wealth,*

*wealth*, which gave them their Authority for the common good of all, may also *restrain*, or *take the same away again*, if they abuse it to the common evil. The *whole Body*, though it be governed by the Prince, as by the Head, yet is it not Inferiour, but *Superiour to the Prince*. Neither so *giveth the Commonwealth her Authority and Power up to any Prince*, that she *depriveth* her self utterly of the same, when need shall require, *to use it for her defence*, for which she gave it. Part 1. cap. 4. pag. 72.

And finally, the Power and Authority which the Prince hath from the Commonwealth, is in very truth, not *Absolute*, but *Potestas vicaria & delegata*, i.e. a Power Delegate, or Power by Commission from the Commonwealth; which is given with such Restrictions, Cautels, and Conditions, yea with such plain Exceptions, Promises, and Oaths of both Parties (I mean between the King and Commonwealth, at the day of his Admission or Coronation) as if the same be not kept, but wilfully *broken on either Part*, then is the other not bound to observe his *Promise* neither, though never so solemnly made or sworn. Part 1. cap. 4. p. 73.

By this then you see the ground whereon dependeth the righteous and lawful Deposition and Chastisement of wicked Princes, viz.

*Their*



*Their failing in their Oath and Promises which they made at their first entrance. --- Then is the Commonwealth not onely free from all Oaths made by her of Obedience or Allegiance to such unworthy Princes, but is bound moreover for saving the whole Body, to resist, chasten, or remove such evil Heads, if she be able; for that otherwise all would come to Destruction, Ruine, and publick Desolation. Part 1. cap. 4. p. 77, 78.*

## 2. BRADSHAW.

**T**He People of *England*, as they are those that at the first ( as other Countries have done ) did *chuse to themselves this Form of Government* even for Justice sake, that Justice might be administred, that Peace might be preserved; so, Sir, *they gave Laws to their Governours*, according to which they should govern: and if those Laws should have prov'd inconvenient or prejudicial to the Publick, they had a *Power* in them, and reserved to themselves, to alter as they shall see cause. Kings Tryal, p. 64.

CHARLES STUART King of *England*, The Commons of *England* assembled in Parliament, according to the *fundamental Power that rests in themselves*, have

resolved to bring you to *Trial* and *Judgment*,  
p. 29. If so be the King will go contrary to  
the end of his Government, Sir, he must un-  
derstand that he is but an *Officer of Trust*, and  
he ought to discharge that Trust, and they  
are to take order for the *Animadversion* and  
*Punishment* of such an *Offending Governour*.  
p. 65.

Sir, Parliaments were ordained for that  
purpose, to redress the Grievances of the  
People. And then, Sir, the *Scripture* says,  
*They that know their Masters will and do it*  
*not*, what follows? *The Law is your Master*,  
*the Acts of Parliament*. p. 66, 67.

This we know to be Law; *Rex habet su-  
periorem, Deum & Legem, etiam & Curiam*;  
and so says the same Author: and truly, Sir,  
he makes bold to go a little further, *Debent*  
*ei ponere frænula*, *They ought to bridle him*.  
p. 65.

That the said *Charles Stuart* being admit-  
ted King of *England*, and therein trusted with  
a limited Power. *Vid. Char.* p. 30.

The House of Commons, the *Supream* Au-  
thority and Jurisdiction of the Kingdom, p. 48.  
Which Authority requires you, in the name  
of the *People of England*, of which you are e-  
lected King, to answer them, p. 36. Sir, you  
may not demur the Jurisdiction of the Court,  
---they sit here by the Authority of the  
Com

*Commons of England; and all your Predecessors and you are responsible to them.* p. 44.

For there is a *Contract and Bargain* between the *King* and his *People*, and your Oath is taken; and certainly, Sir, the Bond is reciprocal. --- Sir, *if this Bond be once broken, farewell Sovereignty.* p. 72.

Sir, though you have it by *Inheritance* in the way that is spoken of, yet it must not be denied that your Office was an Office of *Trust*: Now, Sir, if it be an Office of *Inheritance*, as you speak of your *Title* by *Descent*, let all men know, that great Offices are *seizable and forfeitable*, as if you had it but for a year and for your *Life*. p. 73.

And, Sir, the *People of England* cannot be so far wanting to themselves, which God having dealt so miraculously and gloriously for, *they having Power in their hands*, and their *Great Enemy*, they must proceed to do *Justice* to themselves and to *You*. p. 75.

### 3. SIDNEY,

And other of

*The True Protestant Party.*

God hath left Nations unto the liberty of setting up such Governments as best pleased themselves. P 3 The

The Right and Power of Magistrates in every Country, was that which the *Laws* of that Country made it to be. *Sidn. Pap. p. 2.*

*St. Peter, 1 Pet. 2. 13, 14.* *Stiles Kings,* as well as the Governours under him, *the Ordinance of Man;* which cannot have any other sense, *but that Men make them, and give them their Power.* *Hunt's Postsc. p. 37.* By all which it is evident, *That the Succession to the Crown is the Peoples Right.* And though the Succession to the Crown is *Hereditary,* because *the People so appointed it, would have it so, or consented to have it so;* yet in a particular Case, for the saving the Nation, *The whole Line and Monarchy it self may be altered,* by the unlimited Power of the *Legislative Authority.* *Hunt's Postsc. p. 43.* Some men will talk as if they believed themselves, *That the Legislative Power is in the King, when no King of England yet ever pretended to it.* A *Legislative Authority* is necessary to every Government, and therefore we ought not to want it; and therefore *Parliaments,* in which our Government hath placed the making of Laws, cannot be long discontinued. *Hunt's Postsc. p. 28.*

BRAC TON saith, that the King hath three Superiours; to wit, *Deum, Legem, & Parlamentum;* that is, the Power originally in the People of *England* is delegated unto the *Parliament.* *Sid. Tryal, p. 23.* All

All Government is founded in *Trust*, and settled in such a Person, or limited to such a *Family*, for the safety and advantage of the People, as well as of the Ruler.

It is remarkable that there was never a conveyance of the Crown of *England* to any person, but upon the *tacit Concurrence*, and with the *virtual* or implicate *Consent* of the *People*. And therefore anciently, before any King of *England* was actually crown'd, the *People* being first acquainted with the day appointed for that *Solemnity*, were three several times publickly asked, whether they would have such a Person to rule over them. *Letter from a Gentleman in the City concerning the D. of Y. p. 13, 14.*

Those Laws were to be observ'd, and the Oaths taken by them, having the force of a *Contract* between Magistrate and *People*, could not be *violated* without danger of *dissolving the whole Fabrick*. Sidn. Pap. p. 2.

If he doth not like his condition, he may *renounce the Crown*; but if he receive it upon that Condition (as all *Magistrates* do the Power they receive) and swear to perform it, he must expect that the performance will be exacted, or *revenge taken by those he hath betrayed*. Sidn. Tryal, p. 23.

I will hope there are very few in this *Nation* so ill instructed, that do not think it is

the power of the People to *depose* a Prince, who really undertakes to *alienate* his Kingdom, or that really acts the *destruction* or the *universal Calamity* of his People. *Great confidence relating to the D. of Y. consider'd*, p. 6. And he fixeth the Government in the *major part*.

To give every one his due, is to administer Defence to the Innocent, and by Authority of Law to *subdue* the Aggressors of mankind, how great and mighty soever they be. *Fiat justitia* therefore. *Id.* p. 16.

The Author of *the Plea to the Dukes Answer*, says, that when Kings are ill ones, God not onely approves of their removal, but he himself doth it. The *Political Catechism* placeth the Government in the two Houses of Parliament: and the *Letter to a Person of Honour* says, There may be a self-deposition of a Prince actually regnant. Thus far the Parallel.

If there be a Note above *Ela*, the Sweet Singers of Scotland have reached it, in crying, Down with the established Government, down with it to the ground. Cargil a Field-preacher, in the name of the true Presbyterian Kirk of Scotland, pronounced the King excommunicate, forbidding the people not onely to obey him, but to pray for him. These men set up a Mock-Convention of States (like Bradshaw's High Court) wherein, without the  
for-

formality of a Tryal, they take a *forfeiture* of his Majesties Crown, and pronounce him *deposed*: and all the Officers of the Crown, Privy-Counsellors, Judges, Magistrates, and Officers of the Army, who adhered to the King, and opposed their *Field-Conventicles*, especially the *Conforming Clergie*, as *perjured* and *apostate* persons, were marked out for *destruction*. Kid and King, two *Field-preachers* who were executed August 14. 1679. for preaching *Sedition* and *Rebellion* to some thousands of *armed men*, who had set up a *Banner*, and called it *The Banner of Jesus Christ*, in an *open War* against the King, and pronouncing the King guilty of *Perjury*, and that he had *no right* to govern, having driven Christ out of his Kingdom: These men in their dying Speeches bore witness to their *National* and the *solemn League and Covenant* ( which they believed could not be *dispensed with* by any *person* or *Party* on earth ) against all *Oaths* and *Bonds* contrary to it, especially that of *Supremacy*, and the *Bond for Peace*; and against all that *connive at*, *comply with*, or *strengthen the bands* of the *Prelatical*, *malignant*, and *persecuting Party*. Kid counted it an *honour*, that he was *counted worthy to be staged* upon such a consideration, and encourageth the people to *persist*, saying, *God would perfect his strength in their weakness*; and threatened the Nation with

with the Sword of the Lord and of Gideon.

The Scottish book called *Naphtali* says, *Whatever indignity is done to the Solemn League and Covenant, is no less than doing despite to the Covenant of Grace in his most eminent exerting himself, and is a sin of the nature as that of those men who ascribed our Saviours casting out Devils by Beelzebub, but far greater.* They condemn all *Acts of State* against it, particularly this which follows, which some would chuse to die rather than consent to: *I do sincerely affirm and declare, that I judge it unlawful to Subjects, upon pretence of Reformation, or other pretence whatsoever, to enter into Leagues or Covenants, or to take up Arms against the King, or those commisionate by him; and that all those Gatherings, Convocations, Petitions, Protestations, and erecting and keeping of Council-Tables that were used in the beginning, and for carrying on of the late Troubles, were unlawful and seditious: and particularly, that those Oaths whereof the one was commonly called The National Covenant, as it was sworn and explained in the year 1638, and thereafter; and the other entituled The Solemn League and Covenant, were and are in themselves unlawful Oaths, and were taken by and imposed upon the Subjects of this Kingdom against the fundamental Laws and Liberties of the same: and that there lieth no obligation*  
upon



upon me or any of the Subjects from the said Oaths, or either of them, to endeavour any change or alteration of the Government either in Church or State, as it is now established by the Laws of the Church and Kingdom. But instead of allowing this Declaration, they declare their assent to all the *Rebellions* and *Bloud* that had been shed in defence of their *Field-meetings* and *Covenant* against the *Kings Armies*, as of *Wariston*, *Guthrie*, &c. shortly after the *Kings Restoration*; the *Rebellion at Pentland-hills* and *Bothwell-bridge*, the *Murthers of Melvil Mitchel*, and the *Russians* that assassinated the *Archbishop*; and that *Field-Fast* at *Fedburgh in Tiveot-dale*, where were seven *Field-preachers*, and five thousand people, the men being in *Arms*, to seek God for three things. (viz.) To put an end to their *Persecution*, To give them *Grace* to repent who took the *Bond for Peace*, and That he would bless those *Lords* that were gone to *London*. This was such another *Fast* as those that were kept in the days of their *Q Mary*; of which she was wont to say, That she was as much afraid of a *Fast of the Ministers*, as of an *Army of Souldiers*.

And yet if you will believe themselves, or some *Advocates* of theirs nearer home, there are not a more *innocent*, *peaceable*, and *harmless* people in the world; as the *Author of Naphtali* said of the *Rebellion of Pentland hills*:

There

*There hath not been in Britain such a company of men in Arms for the Covenant and Cause of God, for sound Judgment, true Piety, Integrity, and fervent Zeal, and undaunted Courage. But all this Zeal and Courage was still directed against the King and the established Government and Worship of God. For in the year 1679. the Convention of Estates gave the King a Tax of 30000 £. to maintain a Regiment of Foot, three Companies of Dragoons, and three Troops of Horse, to suppress the Field-Conventicles ; which met in Arms : against which their Leaders preached, saying, It was given by the enemies of Christ to drive him out of his Kingdom ; and it would be as great a sin to pay it, as it was in Judas to betray Christ ; and that now was the time to try them whether they would have Christ for their King or no. And the same Russians that murdered the Archbishop, did several times lay wait for the Collectors of this Tax ; and they so perplexed the peoples Consciences, that a Servant of the Earl of Dondonald fell distracted through trouble of mind for having assisted his Master in laying the Tax on Ren-scot.*

*This is that little Sister for whom the Noble Peer pleaded, that having no Breasts, she might, like the Amazons, have liberty to take up Arms, and once more enter our Nation, and*

and rent us in pieces as formerly. And it were easie to shew, from the Writings of some of *our own Nation*, that the *same Principles* have been preached to the people of this Land, who have greedily *swallowed* and *digested* the same, and think themselves under the *same obligation of Covenant* as those *barbarous people*. Dr. Lake in a Sermon before the Lord Mayor, says, That *discoursing some Rebels that were then in Goal in Scotland, who did openly avow the Rebellion, and refused to pray for the King, He told them they were variously reported to be Jesuits, or Jesuitically affected, or to be Fifth-Monarchy-men, wild arrant Fanaticks.* They told him they were *neither one nor other, but true Presbyterians according to the Covenant.* He replying, *That we had Presbyterians in our own Kingdom, who yet did not obstinately maintain such King-deposing and murtherring Doctrines; They told him, he did not understand them; for they believed the same Doctrines, but onely wanted Power and Courage to act them.* And at their execution they desired the people to take notice, *That they died true Presbyterians, according to the Covenant.*

It is another *Artifice* of these People, agreeable to the practice of the *Papists*, that they keep their People in ignorance, and under the power of an *implicit Faith* and *blind Obe-*

*Obedience, as the Papists do ; and bring them up in strong prejudices against their Governors. Some have been so mad, as to baptize their Children into the National Covenant ; which they are not ashamed to compare with The Covenant of Grace.*

Mr. *Alexander Gibson*, Clerk of his Majesties Privy-Council, certified, *May 13. 1678.* that one *David Ferguson* taken at a Field-Conventicle, being asked why he kept not to his Parish-Church, answered, That he had *sworn the Covenant, whereby he was obliged not to hear Bishops, Deans, or Curats :* and that others being asked why they kept Conventicles, answered, *To hear Gods truth :* and being demanded what that was ; they answered, *They could not tell.* And upon examination, they could not say the *Creed, the Lords Prayer, or ten Commandments.*

Mr. *Jo. Dickson* preached to them, That *all the Bishops and their Clergie never did nor ever will convert one Soul.* They believe without farther enquiry ( being forbid to read the Books written for Obedience and Conformity ) that *Episcopacy is Antichristian, and Presbytery is Christs own institution.* They hold with the Papists, That the actions of their *Kirk and Teachers in Field-Conventicles, and armed and fighting men, is not Rebellion, because the Presbytery is not subject to the Secu-*  
lar

lar Power : That the Subjects may enter into Solemn Leagues and Covenants, without and against the Prince : That Kings may be excommunicate and deposed ; which some of them have practised against his present Majesty : That not the King in some cases, but the Kirk have power to convocate and dissolve Assemblies ; and that they may make Laws without the King : That Salvation is not to be had but in their Communion. They injoyne new Articles of belief ; as, That Episcopacy is an Antichristian Order ; and so are the Church-Festivals and Ceremonies : That the Oath of Supremacy is an unlawful Oath, and the People are absolved from it : That the Power of the King is originally in the People, and that there is a mutual obligation between them ; and if the King perform not his part, the People are free from performing theirs : That for the good of the Kirk and Gods Cause, they may rebel against their Prince : That the Prince nor any Secular Power can silence or deprive a Minister, who is subject to none but Christ : That Passive Obedience to the unjust commands of a Prince, is as great a sin as Active Obedience to the same : That a private person may kill a Magistrate by impulse of the Spirit, after the Example of Phinees, to deliver the Kirk from Oppression : That it is lawful to kill Protestant Bishops and their Curates, as enemies to true Godliness, and such as would

would bring the Kirk to a slavish dependance on the King. James Mitchel, who was executed for attempting the murder of the Archbishop, said in his dying Speech, *They are all blessed that shall take the proud Prelates and dash their brains against the stones*; as afterward some Russians did by the Archbishop.

These are their *Principles*, and all these they have *practised*, when they had opportunities. They come little behind the *Papists* for *equivocation* and persisting in *falsehood*, where they think their *lives* or the good of the *Kirk* concerned.

*Jo. King* being charged for bearing Arms against the King in the late Rebellion, denied it, until one that apprehended him swore that he had both Sword and Pistols. To which he answered, *he did it not in an hostile manner*: which was a *Jesuitical Equivocation*.

He bore testimony against that woful Supremacy so much applauded, and universally owned of such of whom better things might be expected, as *usurping on Christs Royal Authority*, spoiling him of his Royal Crown, Scepter, Sword, and Royal Robe, by taking those Princely Ornaments to invest a man whose breath is in his nostrils. And both *Kid* and *King* bore their Testimonies against the Oath of Allegiance and Bond

black

of

of Peace ; of which, to satisfie the Reader, I give him a Copy.

**I** A. B. for testification of my faithful obedience to my most gracious Sovereign Charles King of Great Britain, &c. affirm, testifie, and declare, by this my solemn Oath, That I acknowledge my said Sovereign onely Supreme Governour of this Kingdom, over all Persons, and in all Causes; and that no foreign Prince, Power, State, or Person, Civil or Ecclesiastick, hath any Jurisdiction, Power, or Superiority over the same : and therefore I do utterly renounce and forsake all foreign Power, Jurisdictions, and Authorities ; and shall to my utmost power defend, assist, and maintain his Majesties Jurisdiction aforesaid, against all mortals ; and shall never decline his Majesties Power and Jurisdiction, as I shall answer to God.

### The form of the Bond.

**I** A. B. underscribing, do faithfully bind and oblige me, that I, my Wife, Barnes, and Servants respectively, shall no ways be present at any Conventicles and disorderly Meetings in time coming ; but shall live orderly, in obedience to the Law, under the penalties contained in the Acts of Parliament made there-anent. As also I bind and oblige me, that my whole Tenants

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and

and Cotters respectively, their Wives, Barnes, and Servants, shall likewise refrain and abstain from the said Conventicles and other illegal Meetings not authorized by Law; and that they shall live orderly, in obedience to the Law: And further, that I nor they shall receipt, supply or commune with forfeited persons, intercommuned Ministers, or vagrant Preachers; but shall do our utmost endeavour to apprehend their persons. And in case my said Tenants, Cotters, and their foresaids shall contravene, I shall take or apprehend any person or persons guilty thereof, and present to the Judge Ordinar, that they may be fined or imprisoned therefor, as is provided in the Acts of Parliament made there-ament; otherwise I shall remove them and their Families from my ground. And if I shall fail herein, I shall be liable to such penalties as the said Delinquents have incurred by the Laws, consenting to the registration hereof in the Books of his Majesties Privy-Council, or Books of any other Judges competent, that Letters and Executorials may be direct hereupon, in form as effairs, and constitutes my Procurators.

The Field-preachers damned this Bond, as an Arbitrary, Tyrannical, and Illegal proceeding: and Mr. Welsh a Field-preacher having condemned the people for not coming

armed



armed to their Meetings with Swords and Pistols to defend the Gospel, said, *That the subscribing this Bond was a renouncing their Baptism, and making a Covenant with the Devil more expresse and worse than that of Witches.* And Mr. John Dickson at a Conventicle, May 26. 1678. said, *That those who subscribed it had committed a greater sin than the sin of the Holy Ghost, and were already in Hell.* This Mr. Welsh, as Ravilliack Redivivus relates it, preaching to about seven thousand people, told them, *That the King, the Nobles and Prelates were the Murtherers of Christ:* And sitting down in his Chair, he said, *O People, I will be silent; speak, O People, and tell me what good thing the King hath done since his coming home; yea, hath he not done all the mischief a Tyrant could do?* And at another time he said, *That God would assert the Cause of Pentland-hills, in spite of the Curates and their Masters the Prelates, and in spite of the Prelates and their Master the King, and his Master the Devil.*

It was but a little before the Duke of York's going to Scotland, that they were forming their *Presbyteries* after the Model of Ignatius, dividing the Nation into several *Provinces*, each of which was to have a *Provincial*, and over all there was appointed a *General*, who, as Ignatius, had been a *Souldier*, and was

thought fit to lead an *Army*. The *Provincials* were to take an account of the *growth* or *decay* of their *Party*, to mark out their *Friends* and their *Enemies*, and to renew their *Contributions*, and to give account of all to their *General*, who was to reside at *Edinburgh* or *London*.

If *this* *design* had succeeded, no two *Factions* in the world had been more *like*, whatever they are now, than the *Jesuit* and *Fanatick*. Which was the *Incubus*, and which the *Succubus* that brought forth the two last *hellish Plots*, or whether they were not *Twins*; or as it is in the Riddle, *Mater me Genuit, eadem mox gignitur ex me*, may puzzle the Reader to relolve. It is certain the same *plastick Principles* formed them both, and the *Subjects* were equally disposed to receive those *Forms* which have so affrighted the *Nations*: and there is little difference (the name excepted) between a *Clement* and a *Melvil*, a *Ravilliack* and a *Mitchel*, a *Bradshaw* and a *Cargil*, or the *Jesuitical* and a *Fanatical Regicide*: both make the *King* accountable to the *People*; both are for *excommunicating*, *deposing*, and *assassinating* of *Kings*; both have been such *Fire-brands* as have kindled *consuming fires* where-ever they have fixed their *cloven feet*. It is no great wonder that they are sometimes transformed

into *Angels of light*, seeing Satan himself may be so transformed: neither of them can do *their work*, if they should appear in their *proper colours*, armed with *Pistols* and *Blunderbusses*, in flames of *fire*, and an horrible stench of *Gunpowder* and *Brimstone*: they come clothed with *Zeal* as with a *Cloak*, and in *Sheeps clothing*, with demure looks and fair speeches to deceive the hearts of the *Simple*: but inwardly they are *ravening Wolves*, and by their fruits you may know them.

It is not a pretence of acting for a *Good Old Cause*, or the *Catholick Church*, that can justify unnatural *Rebellions* and *Bloudshed*: they who do such things, are of *their Father the Devil*, though they own *Rome* or *Geneva* for their *Mother*. It is said of *Augustus*, that meeting with a young man in the Country exactly like him in growth and features, he asked him merrily *whether his Mother was never at Rome*. No, saith the young man, *but my Father hath been there*; meaning, it was more likely that *Augustus* and he had one *Father*, than that he should be the *Son of Augustus*. Though our *Fanatick Plots* were conceived by those that were never at *Rome*, yet the *Principles* that begot them, most certainly came from thence. The *Fanatick Zeal* embracing *Popish Principles*, hath brought forth many of those *Plots* and *Conspiracies* which

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have so often disturbed our *Peace and Government*. And by this time I hope the *vizard* and *pretence* of these men will vanish, (*viz.*) that such of them as have suffered by the hand of Justice, have died as *Patriots* of their Country, for their *zeal against Popery*, and in defence of the *Liberties of the People* against *Tyranny and Arbitrary Government*. This hath been pleaded a thousand times in behalf of a *Noble Peer*; and persons of the same *Principles*, but of the *lowest rank*, have pleaded it for *themselves*. This *design* (says *Colledge*) is not *onely* against me, but against all the *Protestants* in England that have had the *courage to oppose the Popish Plot*; and dies praying that his may be the last *Protestants blood* that *murdering Church of Rome* may shed in *Christendom*. And in his dying Speech he says, *He went armed to Oxford to defend himself in case the Papists should make any attempt by way of Massacre or Invasion*; and that he came thither to live and die with the *Parliament*, if the *Papists and their Party* (as was sworn and feared they would) had offered to destroy the *Parliament*. And generally all that died as *Conspirators*, endeavoured to persuade the People that they fell as a *Sacrifice to Popery*, and died *Martyrs for the Old Cause*; which hath been no other than the *opposing of Monarchy and the established Religion*,

gion, under the odious names of *Papery* and *Tyranny*; when they have had no more sense of *true Religion* and *Obedience*, than the Ribbons intended to be worn in their Hats, that could onely declare *No Popery, no Tyranny*; but was intended to distinguish a Party for cutting of Throats.

Thus I have shewn the Intrigues between the *Papists* and *Fanaticks* to destroy the *established Church and Government* of the English Nation; than which, there is none in the world settled upon better foundations, for *Piety, Liberty, and Moderation*; nor hath any had *more signal tokens* of God's Almighty *Providence*, and wonderful *Blessings*. We may truly say in the words of *David* concerning his enemies, *Many a time have they assaulted us from our youth up, but they have not prevailed against us*. We have been like a City besieged by two potent enemies; and while one Party hath attacked us on one side, the other hath taken advantage to storm us on the other: and though they never could agree among themselves, yet they alway conspire both in *Principles* and *Practices* to destroy the *established Government* both of *Church and State*. And it is not to be wondered if it be so for the future, seeing thus it hath been not onely with us from the time

of the *Reformation*; but ever since the *Gospel* was preached, it hath had *many enemies* confederate against it. *For of a truth* (saith St. Peter, Acts 4. 27.) *against thy holy Child Jesus, whom thou hast anointed, both Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles, and the people of Israel, have been (associated) or gathered together.*

From these *Premises*, I do earnestly recommend to the *Reason* and *Consciences* of my dear *Country-men*, that have any love to the *Protestant Religion*, these following *Conclusions*.

## I.

That the *Papists* have ever since the *Reformation* endeavoured to raise up *Sects* and *Differences* among *Protestants*, by *disguised Emissaries* among the *Zealous* and *Well-meaning* people, to seduce them to *Separation*.

## II.

That they look on *these Practices* as the most effectual means to bring back the people to the *Romish Religion*.

## III.

That for *this purpose* they have been industrious to deprave the *Government* of our *Kings* and *Bishops* as *Tyrannical*, the *Liturgie* as *Popish*, and extolling *Extemporary Prayers*

as

as *Spiritual*; encouraging an *unlicensed* Ministry, and preaching up *Liberty of Conscience*; and that it is to be obtained and maintained by the *Sword*: And that all persons who preach and practise *such things*, do really and effectually *propagate* the designs of the *Papists*, and ever have had, and shall have *encouragement* from them.

## IV.

That it is manifest that our late horrid *Wars, Rapine, and the Murther* of our *Royal Martyr*, and *Banishment* of our *Sovereign*, were effected by the contrivance of the *Papists* and *Fanaticks* in conjunction.

## V.

That the *Commotions* and *Rebellions* in *Scotland*, ever since 1639, sprung from the same *Counsel* and *Conduct*; and that the *Papists*, in hopes of effecting our *ruine*, will not cease to carry on the *like designs*, so long as our *Divisions* give them the *like opportunities*.

## VI.

That the pretences of *some men* to the *true Protestant Religion*, are but vain, while they practise such *Rapine, Oppression, and Bloudshed* as the very *Pagans* and *Infidels* do abhor.

## VII.

That *Obstinate Dissenters* are, before God and men, guilty of all the *real danger* of *Papery's*

*pery's prevailing in these Nations on the ruine of the established Protestant Religion.*

## VIII.

That the *Church of England* is the greatest *Enemy* that the *Papists* have, according to their own *Apprehensions* and declared *Judgment*; and consequently, wholly *innocent* of any *Designes*, *Compliances*, or *Approaches* to the *Church of Rome*; seeing it still persists in the same *Doctrine*, *Discipline*, and *Worship* for which the *Martyrs* in *Queen Mary's* days laid down their lives.

## IX.

That those of the *Communion* of the *Church of England*, ever since the *Reformation*, have given *proof* of their *fidelity* to the *Crown*, and opposition to *Popery*, as well as *Heresie*, *Schism*, and *Rebellion*: which hath procured them equal *hatred* and *opposition* from the *Papists* and *Fanaticks*.

## X.

That the *Providence of Almighty God* hath wonderfully appeared in *preserving* the established *Church* and *Government* from the many *violent* and *subtile Attempts* and *Conspiracies* of the several *Factions*.

## XI.

That they who pretend *Religion* to countenance *Faction* and *Rebellion*, do least regard it, and generally do *destroy* that which they pretend to *build up*.

## XII.



## XII.

That *Covenants* and *Associations* without and against the will of the Prince, do end in *Confusion* and *Bloudshed*.

## XIII.

That *common people* are easily seduced with *fair pretences* of *Liberty* and *redress* of *Grievances*, by such as neither *intend* nor are *able* to effect it.

## XIV.

That there hath not been a *Succession* of four such *Princes* lineally descended, for *eminency* in *Religion*, *Peaceableness*, and *Clemency*, in any *Age* or *Nation*, since our *Saviours* time, as among us: And therefore the *Murmurings*, *Seditions*, *Conspiracies*, and *Rebellions* of *Subjects* are the more to be condemned: and all *unlawful endeavours* to break the *Line* of such a *Succession*, is to intrench on *God's* *Prerogative*, and to distrust his *Mercy*, *who*, as old *Brithwold* said, *will take care for the Succession*.

## XV.

That generally *Conspirators* and *Traytors*, whether they *succeed* or not, live and die *impenitently*; and if so, that they *procure* to *themselves damnation*, Rom. 13.

## XVI.

That to *murmur*, *resist*, and *rebel* against such a *Government* as by *God* and our *Laws* is esta-

established in Church and State, is to *resist the Ordinance of God, to disgrace and betray our Religion, and to bring upon our selves both temporal and eternal destruction.*

## XVII.

*Lastly, That all the Outcries made by the Fanaticks since the discovery of the Popish Plot, have been directed chiefly to the ruine of the Established Government both in Church and State, as if they favoured that Perswasion, and as if none but themselves were enemies to Popery: whose separation from the Church established, in the judgment of the wisest, even of their own Party, is most like to bring it in; and nothing more like to keep it out than Obedience to the King, and Conforming to the Church as it is now established.*

*Thus Baxter in his Preface to the Defence of the Cure, p. 17. Our Division gratifieth the Papists, and greatly hazardeth the Protestant Religion; and that more than most of you seem to believe or regard, speaking to the Separatists. And by that separation, Popery (saith he.) will get so great advantage as may hazard us all; and we may lose that which the several Parties do contend about. Defence of the Cure, Introduction, p. 52. Two way especially Popery will grow out of our Divisions: First, By the odium and scorn of our Disagreements, Inconsistency,*

stency, and multiplied Sects, they will perswade people that we must come for Unity to them, or else run mad, and crumble into dust, and individuals : thousands have been drawn to Popery, or confirmed in it by this Argument already. And I am perswaded that all the Arguments else in Bellarmine and all other Books, have not done so much to make Papists in England, as the multitude of Sects among our selves. Tea, some Professors of Religious strictness, of great esteem for Godliness, have turned Papists themselves, when they were giddy, and wearied with turnings, and when they had run from Sect to Sect, and found no consistency in any. Secondly, Either the Papists by increasing the Divisions would make them be accounted seditious, rebellious, and dangerous to the publick peace ; or else when so many Parties are constrained to beg and wait for Liberty, the Papists may not be shut out alone, but have Toleration with the rest. And shall they ( saith Mr. Baxter ) use our hands to do their work, and pull their freedom out of the fire ? We have already unspeakably served them, both in this, and in abating the Odium of the Gunpowder-plot, and their other Treasons, Insurrections, and Spanish Invasion. And in Sacrilegious Deser-tion, p. 103, 104. We are indangered by Divisions principally, because the self-conceited part of Religious people would not be ruled by their Pastors.

*Pasters, but would rule them---you have made more Papists than ever you or we are like to recover. Nothing is considerable that any Papist hath to say, till he cometh to your Case (and saith) Doth not Experience tell you, that without Papal unity and force this people will never be ruled or united? It is you that tempt them to use Fire and Faggot, that will not be ruled: and must you that should be our Comfort, become our Shame, and break our hearts, and make men Papists by your temptations? Wo to the world because of offences, and woe to some by whom they come.*

But a much wiser and better man than Mr. Baxter hath demonstrated the same thing; Preface to his *Sermons*, Sect. 18. *Three ways (saith he) our dissenting Brethren, though not intentionally and purposely, yet really and eventually have been the great Promoters of the Roman interest among us. 1. By putting to their helping hand to the pulling down of Episcopacy: and it is very well known to many, what rejoycing that Vote brought to the Romish Party, how even in Rome they sung their Io Paxans on the tidings thereof, and said triumphantly, Now the day is ours, now is the fatal Blow given to the Protestant Religion in England. 2. By opposing the interest of Rome with more violence than reason. 3. By frequent mistaking the Question, but especially through*

*through the necessity of some false principle or other, which having once imbibed, they think themselves bound to maintain, whatever becomes of the common Cause of our Reformation; which may suffer as much through some mens folly and indiscretion, who pretend to be the most zealous Protestants, as by all the arts and designs of our open enemies: for many a man, when he thought most to make it sure, bath quite marred a good business by over-doing it.*

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FINIS.

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